Shared Spaces or Contested Places?

Examining the role of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Port Chalmers and Bluff, 1848-2016.

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Abstract

Although it is clear that a variety of Kāi Tahu lifeways and environmental management practices persisted following the arrival of Pākehā in New Zealand to the present day, Pākehā histories have not always recognised these practices. Kāi Tahu are often written out of history except for a brief introduction to their presence prior to formal colonisation in the 19th century. While recognition increased as a result of claims made by iwi to the Waitangi Tribunal from the 1990s, and also through the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), Māori lifeways remain comparatively invisible. Such invisibility has implications for how resource management is practiced under the RMA within a postcolonial context in which power geometries continue to privilege Pākehā resource management approaches. However, Kāi Tahu have persisted at key coastal sites such as ports.

This thesis uses a comparative case study of Port Chalmers and Bluff to examine the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and environmental management since the arrival of Pākehā. The research explores the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff, the recognition of Kāi Tahu by local planning authorities prior to the RMA's enactment and the way that Kāi Tahu in these ports have been framed and recognised under the RMA since 1991. The overall purpose of the research is to assess the persistence of Kāi Tahu at ports. The research methodology primarily involved archival analysis, complemented by a small number of interviews with Kāi Tahu resource management experts, observations of the ports and local museum exhibits and planning document analysis.

The research revealed that Kāi Tahu were only able to shape the ports to a limited extent between 1848 and 1991. However, in order to understand the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape the ports in this period, it is necessary to recognise that lifeways and resource management practices evolved dynamically, interacting in diverse and distinct ways within the colonial and postcolonial contexts. The research also indicated that local authorities have provided little response to Kāi Tahu lifeways. While some changes occurred under the RMA, it still fails to acknowledge the dynamic evolution of Kāi Tahu lifeways and resource management practices. This calls for a need to consider how Kāi Tahu lifeways can be effectively and appropriately incorporated into RMA processes in the future.

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List of Acronyms

BHB	Bluff Harbour Board
DCC	Dunedin City Council
ES	Environment Southland (Southland Regional Council)
ICC	Invercargill City Council
IMP	Iwi management plan
KTKO Ltd	Kāi Tahu ki Otago Limited
OF	Ōtākou Fisheries Limited
OHB	Otago Harbour Board
ORC	Otago Regional Council
POL	Port Otago Limited
QLDC	Queenstown Lakes District Council
RMA	Resource Management Act 1991
SHB	Southland Harbour Board
SPNZL	South Port New Zealand Limited
TAMI	Te Ao Mārama Incorporated
TRoNT	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

Glossary

Ahikaaroa	Burning fires of occupation
Aroha	Love
Awarua	Bluff
Hapū	Sub-tribal grouping
Hui	Gathering
Iwi	Māori tribal group
Kaika	Small village
Kaimoana	Seafood
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship
Kaiwhakahaere	Director
Kaumātua	Elder
Kauru	Side shoot of cabbage tree
Kiore	Pacific rat
Koputai	Port Chalmers
Kotahitanga	Collaboration
Kurī	Polynesian dog
Mahika kai	Land-based and sea-based resources, food gathering sites
Mana	Authority
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Mauritanga	Life force
Mātauranga	Knowledge and understanding
Marae	Meeting grounds
Mōtupohue	Bluff Hill
Murihiku	Southland
Noa	Normal, not sacred
Orangatanga	Health
Papakāinga	Housing on multiply-owned Māori land
Papatūānuku	The Earth Mother
Pipi	Shellfish
Pōhā	Tītī preserving bag
Pōua	Grandfather

Rāhui	Temporary resource restriction
Rakinui	The Sky Father
Rangatiratanga	Self-determination
Rimurapa	Bull kelp
Rohe	Tribal boundaries
Rūnaka	Māori governing group- council/assembly
Takiwā	District
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Taonga	Highly prized object or natural resource
Tapu	Sacred
Taua	Grandmother
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Wai Pounamu	South Island
Tikanga	Customs
Tītī	Mutton-bird
Tuaki	Cockles
Tūpuna	Ancestor
Tuaraka waka	Landing site
Waahi tapu	Sacred site
Waka	Boat
Wairuatanga	Spirit
Whakatauki	Māori proverb
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whānau	Family grouping
Whānui	Wide/wider relations
Whanaungatanga	Membership
Wharenui	Communal house
Whenua	Land

Note: I use the southern Māori dialect throughout this thesis. This involves using ‘k’ instead of ‘ng’. I have used the words colonists and Pākehā interchangeably to refer to settlers in New Zealand. I have predominantly used English place-names for consistency.

Chapter 1: Introduction

> The eyes of James Spencer would goggle if he could see the huge man-made island at head of the harbour and all the other developments that have taken place in past 150 years. Truly, he would say, the works of modern engineers are to be marvelled at."
>
> (Hall-Jones, 1976, p. 165)
>
> Tipene O'Regan…chairman of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, told a television interviewer that Ngāi Tahu not only aspired to participate in the South Island economy and society, but that the tribe also wanted 'to be seen to belong'…in South Island affairs and New Zealand society.
>
> (Te Maire Tau, 2000, in: Dunstall and Cookson eds., p.222)

1.1 The Tale of Kāi Tahu at Two Ports

The story of Tuhawaiki illustrates the nature of life for Kāi Tahu. Tuhawaiki was a leader of Kāi Tahu in southern New Zealand from 1835 until his death in 1844 (Anderson, 2013). Tuhawaiki lived predominantly on Ruapuke Island, at the very south of New Zealand. However, he travelled around the South Island and lead expeditions north (Anderson, 2013). Tuhawaiki welcomed the opportunities that the arrival of early sealers and whalers to New Zealand bought to Kāi Tahu. He travelled to Sydney, gained experience in the whaling industry and established a small shore whaling station in early 1840 (Anderson, 2013). He also purchased his own boats to carry people and goods around the southern coast of New Zealand (Anderson, 2013). The southern and global connections formed by Tuhawaiki demonstrate how Kāi Tahu strove to expand their worlds. Like many Kāi Tahu, Tuhawaiki adapted his lifeways to ensure his successful existence[1].

Tuhawaiki expressed concern for the future of Kāi Tahu at the signing of the Otago deed on 31 July 1844, in which over 400,000 acres of land was sold by Kāi Tahu for 2,400 pounds (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Tuhawaiki stated that Kāi Tahu were 'but a poor remnant now' and that 'the Pākehā' would soon see Kāi Tahu 'all die out' (Anderson, 2013). Tuhawaiki drowned two months later when his boat hit rough sea while he was travelling north. Tuhawaiki possessed charisma, personality and skill that had led him to obtain an unequivocal leadership position in Kāi Tahu society (Haines, 2003).

[1] I use the term 'lifeways' throughout this thesis to refer to the customary manners of living and ways of life of both Kāi Tahu and Pākehā. The term 'lifeways' provides an alternative to the term 'worldview'. The use of the term lifeways focuses the research on material ways of being.

Kāi Tahu surrendered large amounts of land in a further nine Crown purchases that took place following his death (Haines, 2003). Continued leadership by Tuhawaiki may have had a significant impact on the historic loss of Kāi Tahu land (Evison, in Haines, 2003). Tuhawaiki's concerns that Kāi Tahu would 'all die out' were partially realised after the Crown purchases and, as particularly represented by dominant Pākehā narratives of history, Kāi Tahu were pushed to 'the margins of society' as a result of land loss and colonisation (Dacker, 1994, p.1; Anderson, 2013).

However, Kāi Tahu persisted in a variety of ways in a variety of spaces, despite continuing to struggle against the dominant powers of the emerging colonial order. This persistence is particularly so at ports. Ports are gaining recognition as key locations for historical study because of the exchanges that take place at them (O'Hara, 2009, p.1109). Despite this, the history of New Zealand ports has gained little academic attention. University based historical scholarship has 'dried out' in the colonial period and New Zealand historians have been slow to examine the human relationship with the maritime world (Steel, 2011, p. 137). In this study, I focus on two ports – Port Chalmers and Bluff in the lower South Island of New Zealand (see figure 1.1) – to explore the struggles of Kāi Tahu to maintain lifeways and resource management.

In New Zealand, colonists have favoured land sites and resources over coastal sites and resources because land can be more easily privatised and then used to make individual profit (Star, 2003). The lack of interest that colonists had in the coast means that coastal sites such as ports have been able to provide an 'exception to colonial rule' for Kāi Tahu (Stevens, 2006[2]). Kāi Tahu have been able to maintain resource management practices at these sites and secure space to express themselves in an identifiably Kāi Tahu way, 'away from the eyes of Pākehā and other Māori' (O'Regan, 2001, p.81).

[2] For example, Stevens (2006) proposes that the Tītī Islands provided an exception to the colonial rule for Kāi Tahu. Kāi Tahu retained control of the Tītī Islands as colonial settlement expanded. Customary tītī harvesting practices are still carried out there. Although the Tītī Islands are not a port, they are a similar coastal site.

Figure 1.1: Map of South Island of New Zealand showing Port Chalmers and Bluff.

The opening quotes are an illustrative example of the different ways that we can view the past, present and future. Past histories tell of the development of Port Chalmers and Bluff as a result of colonial desires (Farrant, 1952; McFarlane, 1962). These historical narratives place colonists and colonial governance in the 'centre-stage of the play' (Dacker, 1994, p.1). Early settler James Spencer looks back with pride at the colonial development of the port. His pride represents colonial perspectives of the success of port development and the way that continued development was seen as the future for Bluff. However, there is another story: one of a ‘people determined to obtain justice and make a success of life within a new economic and political order’ (Dacker, 1994, p.1).

In the second quote, Kāi Tahu leader Tipene O’Regan expresses a desire to be seen as belonging to the land and its past, representing the Kāi Tahu feeling of invisibility and the desire of Kāi Tahu to become visible in the future. The quotes and introduction demonstrate a need for planners to recognise Kāi Tahu management in order to successfully act as leaders into the future, ‘googling’ at the past both in marvel and in dismay, in order to view Kāi Tahu as belonging to the land. Planners need to recognise

the history of Kāi Tahu, who persisted through colonial encounters, albeit possibly on the 'margins of society' (Dacker, 1994, p.1).

Raibmon (2005) provides a useful critique of the way histories construct binaries of authentic traditional indigenous groups as opposed to modern white progressive settler societies. She explains that colonists constructed a wide variety of binaries to define indigenous 'authenticity' (Figure 1.2), in which indigenous lifeways are represented as static, traditional, and backward rather than dynamic and adaptive. Constructing indigenous lifeways as inauthentic perpetuates the dominant power of the colonial order, by preventing the ongoing existence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff from being acknowledged. I aim to show how Kāi Tahu have continued to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff through dynamic lifeways that have evolved to include a mixture of Kāi Tahu and Pākeha practices. I illustrate how binary visions of Kāi Tahu have persisted in the mind-sets of colonists. I hope to demonstrate how it is possible to overcome these binary visions to recognise that Kāi Tahu did not fall to 'the margins of society' or 'all die out', as Tuhawaiki feared that they would (Dacker, 1994, p.1; Anderson, 2013).

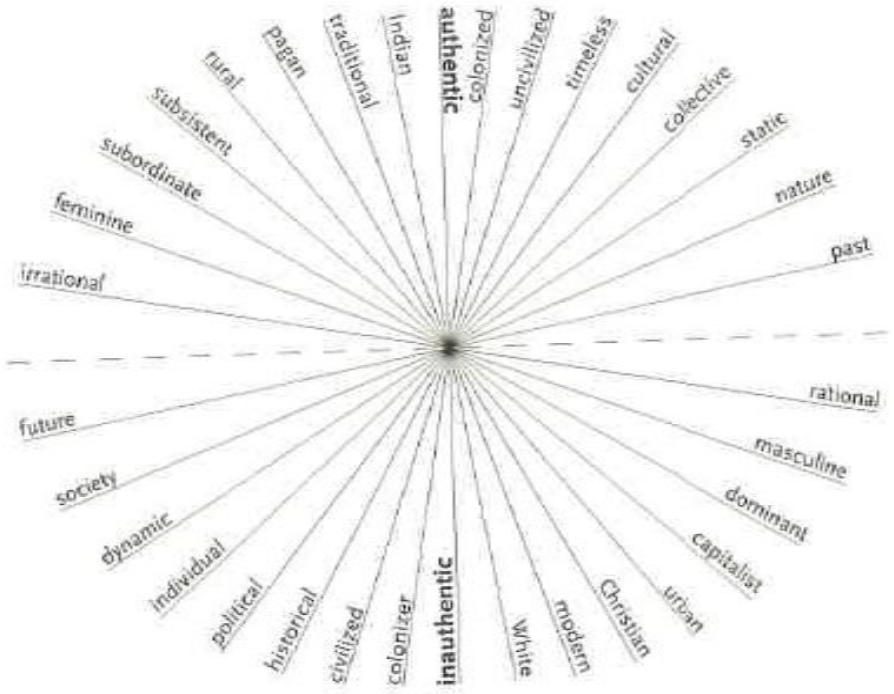


Figure 1.2: The variety of binaries that Raibmon (2005, p.7) suggests colonists created to define indigenous authenticity and inauthenticity. I focus on the binary between dynamic and static cultures.

This points to the need to make more visible the presence of Kāi Tahu in the past and to build Kāi Tahu management effectively and accurately into future planning frameworks. Overall, it also draws attention to the need to overcome binary mindsets that view dynamic indigenous lifeways as inauthentic. Māori-centred histories unveil Kāi Tahu history and bring it to visible sight (Dacker, 1994; Wanhalla, 2009). I aim to challenge past historical narratives that do not acknowledge the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu in order to provide insights to inform contemporary planning practices. I believe that it is essential for planners to recognise the continuation of Kāi Tahu resource management to act as culturally just leaders of social and environmental change (Matunga, 2006). I hope for my exploration of colonial binaries in planning systems to encourage planners to recognise the ongoing role that Kāi Tahu have had in resource management. I also hope to illustrate that insight can be gained from combining the disciplines of planning and history and to encourage future research that combines the two disciplines.

1.2 Research Questions

I explore the Kāi Tahu presence at Port Chalmers and Bluff through these three central and interrelated research questions:

1. To what extent have Kāi Tahu lifeways shaped Bluff and Port Chalmers since 1848?
2. How did local planning authorities respond to Kāi Tahu lifeways between 1848 and 1991?
3. How have Kāi Tahu values and practices been framed and recognised in these ports since the passage of the Resource Management Act in 1991?

The first research question provides an understanding of the ways and extent to which Kāi Tahu lifeways have shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff. I examine this from 1848 onwards because the continuation of Kāi Tahu society and planning since 1848 has gained a particularly small amount of recognition by Pākehā, with Kāi Tahu pushed to 'the margins of history' until the Waitangi Tribunal claim was made in 1991 (Dacker, 1991). The second research question brings into focus questions of governance, to examine whether Kāi Tahu have been able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff through early planning processes up until 1991, when the current planning regime under the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) was brought into effect.

Together the first two research questions allow an exploration of the extent of the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff and the extent to which the binary logic of indigenous authenticity has existed. The third research question investigates the

contemporary visibility and recognition of Kāi Tahu at the ports under the RMA. Here, I investigate whether the RMA presents a rupture or continuation with the colonial binary logic of indigenous authenticity.

1.3 Research Methods

The scope and aims of my research have been shaped by the position of my research as a subset of the 'Between Local and Global: A World History of Bluff' research project carried out by Dr. Michael Stevens. Dr. Stevens' project explores the role of Kāi Tahu in the history of Bluff. My research focuses on Kāi Tahu at both Port Chalmers and Bluff in order to align with Stevens' project and achieve my research aims to assess the visibility of Kāi Tahu and inform planning practices. I adopt a critical interpretive research paradigm and a post-colonial research positionality to best avoid the imposition of Western assumptions on my research.

Port Chalmers is located on the East Coast of the South Island of New Zealand, on the west side of the Otago Harbour in the City of Dunedin (Figure 1.3). A deep water port was established at Port Chalmers in 1844 and a settlement was established between 1848 and 1861 (Church, 1994). The deep water port and the settlement developed swiftly as Dunedin grew in the 1860s and 1870s through the arrival of settlers who were attracted by nearby gold (Church, 1994).

The Pākehā population of Port Chalmers expanded and colonists attained control of the port through 'swamping' the Kāi Tahu population (Belich, 1996, p.249). Port Chalmers now has a predominantly Pākehā population. A Māori population of just 8% was recorded in the 2013 Census (Statistics NZ, 2016). Port Chalmers was managed by the Otago Harbour Board (OHB) from 1874 to 1988 (Church, 1994). Port Chalmers is now managed by the Dunedin City Council (DCC), the Otago Regional Council (ORC) and Port Otago Limited (POL), which is owned by the ORC. The port has been developed over time and it is now the deepest container port in New Zealand (Port Otago Limited, p. 2-15).

Figure 1.3: Map showing Port Chalmers, Otago Harbour, Dunedin, Princes Street and Otākou Marae.

Bluff is located south of Dunedin at the southern point of the South Island of New Zealand (Figure 1.4). The Bluff port acted as a key port of entry to the South Island following the purchase of land in the South Island by Pākehā in 1854 (Hall-Jones, 1976). Bluff was declared an official port of entry to New Zealand in 1856 and its future as a port became secured after a railroad from Invercargill was constructed in 1867 (Hall-Jones, 1976; Skerrett, 1997).

Figure 1.4: Map of Bluff and nearby islands.

Surveyor John Turnbull Thomson laid out a settlement at Bluff in 1856. Colonial control of Bluff was attained through the establishment of the Otago and Southland Provincial Government in 1856 and the appointment of a harbour master in 1859 (Hall-Jones, 1976). Bluff was managed by the Bluff Harbour Board (BHB) and Bluff Borough Council. Bluff is now managed by the Invercargill City Council (ICC) and Environment Southland (ES). The Bluff port is managed by South Port NZ Ltd (SPNZL). An average New Zealand Māori population of 15% was recorded in the 2013 Census (Statistics NZ, 2016). The Kāi Tahu population in Bluff has remained large compared to this average New Zealand population. 46% of the Bluff population self-identified as Māori in the 2013 Census (Statistics NZ, 2016).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou persisted on the tip of the Otago Peninsula in Dunedin, where they were limited to living following the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991; Figure 2). Despite these limitations, Te Rūnaka o Otākou have continued to participate in the management of Port Chalmers over time because of the strong historic connection that they have maintained with the port and harbour areas (Kāi Tahu ki Otākou, 2005). The large Māori population recorded in Bluff demonstrates that Kāi Tahu have also persisted at the port. The ability of Kāi Tahu to engage in resource management at each port has also increased as a result of the provision for Māori in planning processes in the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA).

I challenge colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity by suggesting that the presence of Kāi Tahu extends beyond 'the margins of society' through focusing on the continued existence of Kāi Tahu at each of these ports (Dacker, 1994, p.1). This leads me to question past historical narratives and current resource management planning practices that overlook the extent to which Kāi Tahu have shaped each port.

In relation to both Port Chalmers and Bluff, I used archival research of Waitangi Tribunal Ngāi Tahu Claim evidence, OHB and BHB records, newspaper articles and magazine articles to answer research question one - to gain an understanding of the extent to which Kāi Tahu lifeways have shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848. I draw out key moments that provide evidence of Kāi Tahu attempts to shape the ports from 1848 onwards. I also used the archival research to answer research question two – to explore the responses of local planning authorities to Kāi Tahu lifeways. For research question three, I compared contemporary planning documents to determine the framing and recognition of Kāi Tahu values in the RMA.

In addition to archival research, I carried out interviews with four key informants from Kāi Tahu and Kāi Tahu resource management agencies to inform research question three. As a final method, I carried out observations at both the port sites and local museums of Port Chalmers and Bluff to assist with understanding the current and past visibility of Kāi Tahu at the ports.

1.4 Thesis Structure

In this chapter, I have outlined my central focus on investigating the continued presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848. I have set out my aims to challenge colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity and to assists planners with recognising Kāi

Tahu. I outline the context of my research in chapter 2. Here, I illustrate how Kāi Tahu persisted at Port Chalmers and Bluff and discuss their invisibility in dominant past port histories.

Following this scene setting in chapter 2, I elaborate on the key theoretical concepts utilised in my study in chapter 3. In particular, I draw on the notion of space and place as unfixed that was developed during the spatial turn and Massey's (2010, p.7) conceptions of spaces and places as progressive and global 'articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings'. These notions of space and place enable colonial hegemony to be considered in relation to location, space and scale. This demonstrates the existence of a multiplicity of ontologies and histories at ports (Bond and Kindon, 2013). This understanding of space and place assists me with achieving my research aim to recognise the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

In addition, I draw on theory that recognises that ports are places where multiple actors exist and that view ports as key sites of cross-cultural exchange. I also utilise Harris's (2004, p.167) and other scholar's recognition of the need to move the focus of colonial studies from discourse to the 'actuality and materiality of the colonial experience'. I recognise that focusing on material colonial experiences can help to assess the roles of different agents by revealing the primary locus of colonial power and the state infrastructure that supports it (Harris, 2004). I observe material experiences by focusing on port planning. This informs my second research question, which seeks to reveal the responses of planning authorities to Kāi Tahu lifeways. My focus on material experiences also leads to an examination of indigenous environmental relationships. In order to examine indigenous environmental relationships I investigate the 'almost imperceptible', slow and cyclic development of ports over the longue durée, between 1848 and 2016 (Ethington, 2007, p. 468).

In chapter 4, I present the methodology adopted to achieve my research aims, while chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss research questions 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Chapter 5 explores the extent to which Kāi Tahu lifeways have shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848. I use Kāi Tahu struggles to establish Native Reserves, Native Hostels and continue kaimoana (seafood) practices to provide evidence of the limited extent to which Kāi Tahu could shape Port Chalmers and Bluff. However, I also discuss how Kāi Tahu did shape the ports to some extent through dynamically evolved lifeways. In chapter 6, the

approaches of local planning authorities to Kāi Tahu lifeways are discussed. Chapter 7 moves into the contemporary period by focusing on the framing and recognition of Kāi Tahu values under the RMA planning regime. I build on understandings of the presence and recognition of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff and question whether colonial binaries have continued to define the engagement of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

Finally, I conclude the research in chapter 8, drawing the discussions together around the aim of my research, which is to explore the visibility and presence of Kāi Tahu in planning at Port Chalmers and Bluff and inform planning practices. I illustrate how the research contributes to the growing body of studies that acknowledge the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning. I provide recommendations to inform planning practices. Overall, I argue that Port Chalmers and Bluff are both shared and contested spaces. I argue that Kāi Tahu have persisted at Port Chalmers and Bluff through dynamic lifeways that have not been recognised by planning authorities in the past. I suggest that resource management authorities still only recognise these dynamic lifeways to a limited extent under the RMA, illustrating that there is a need to consider how the RMA and planning practices can be shifted to ensure that colonial binaries are no longer perpetuated.

Chapter 2: The Histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff

2.1 Introduction

Past histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff have moved Kāi Tahu from the 'centre stage of the play' following 1848, providing a brief explanation of Māori history before focussing on colonial port development, until the re-appearance of Kāi Tahu in the 1991 Waitangi Tribunal Claim (Dacker, 1994, p.1). As Dacker (1994) explains, most histories of Otago cover the history of Māori from early occupation to colonial settlement in 'a chapter or two'. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff. I review histories of Kāi Tahu. I introduce Kāi Tahu society, explain Kāi Tahu environmental management and highlight how these have gained little acknowledgement from Pākehā in the past despite growing recognition of them. I then outline past histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff that have marginalised the continued Kāi Tahu presence at the ports and the current structure of Kāi Tahu society. This sets a context for my study within previous studies of Kāi Tahu and port planning. The challenge presented to dominant narratives of port history by emerging narratives that acknowledge the persistence of Kāi Tahu justifies my research objective to build on emerging narratives and assess the presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848.

2.2 Kāi Tahu

West (2009) explained that there are three key eras of Kāi Tahu history. The first era is the primordial era. The primordial era of history begins with the early development of the New Zealand environment and involves the arrival of Kāi Tahu in the South Island (West, 2009). The second era is the contact era. The contact era begins when Captain Cook sighted and explored New Zealand in 1769. The contact era includes the introduction of Western culture and technology to New Zealand (West, 2009). The contact era continues until 1848, when the post-contact era begins (West, 2009). In the following sections, I outline the histories of Kāi Tahu in the primordial era, the contact era and the post-contact era. I focus on Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka.

2.2.1 The Primordial Era: The Arrival of Kāi Tahu to 1769

Kāi Tahu have creation stories that explain their arrival in the primordial era, and personify and provide meaning to the South Island (Anderson, 1998). A Kāi Tahu creation

story tells of Aoraki leaving the heavens of his father Rakinui (the Sky Father). Aoraki left in a waka (boat) with his siblings because of the dislike that he felt for his father's second wife Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother) (Anderson, 1998; Dacker, 2006). The waka that Aoraki travelled in overturned and became the South Island. Its sternpost was Mōtupohue (Bluff hill) (Dacker, 2006). In another creation story, the South Island was formed when the folk-hero Maui's boat overturned on a fishing expedition. Migrants then explored the South Island (Dacker, 2006).

Kāi Tahu have creation stories that explain the occupation of Otago. A Kāi Tahu creation story tells of the arrival of people in Otago on the Arai Te Uru waka. The story of the Arai Te Uru waka begins with the arrival of Rokoitua from Hawaiki, the homeland of Māori. Rokoitua met Kāhui Tipua, a tribe of ogres and giants, who offered him food. Instead of accepting the food Rokoitua took dried kumara (sweet potato) from his waist-belt and prepared it. Members of Kāhui Tipua resolved to travel to Hawaiki to fetch this food. They built the Manuka and Arai Te Uru waka to do this. Arai Te Uru brought kumara back, beaching at several places in the North Island before stopping at Kaikoura to leave seeds. The Arai Te Uru waka became waterlogged, lost cargo on Moeraki and Katiki beach and was subsequently wrecked at Shag Point. Many of the important place names in Otago refer to crew who were in the shipwreck and the crew who explored the southern parts of the South Island after the Arai Te Uru had been wrecked (Anderson, 1998).

In addition, creation narratives explain how Kāi Tahu arrived in Southland. A Kāi Tahu creation story explains the arrival of people in Southland on the Takitimu waka. The Takitimu waka travelled from the east coast under its master Tamatea-pokai-whenua. The Takitimu waka stopped at Lyttleton harbour, where crew members named hills. It then ran down a wave called Maunga-atua. This is the range overlooking the Taieri Plains. The ship dropped members, who became key environmental features of the South Island. For example, Aonui is a basalt pillar at Tokomaririo beach and Hokonui is the bailer of the ship. The Takitimu waka then capsized and became the Takitimu Mountains in western Southland. Tamatea survived and named other parts of the southern environment (Anderson, 1998).

Pākehā histories also explain the arrival of Kāi Tahu in the South Island. According to Pākehā, the first humans to occupy New Zealand arrived from Polynesia in the 13th

century (Paine, 2013). Kāi Tahu were one of these Polynesian groups. Kāi Tahu occupied the East Coast of the North Island and migrated to the South Island in the late 17th century (TRoNT, 2016). The iwi Waitaha lived in kaika (small villages) along the shore of the Otago Peninsula, until they were subsumed by Kati Mamoe. Kati Mamoe were subsequently taken over by Kāi Tahu (McLintock, 1951, p. 8-9; Anderson, 1998)[3]. Kāi Tahu largely gained possession of land through marriage, rather than through titular rights based on conquest (Anderson, 1998).

Pākehā histories explain that Kāi Tahu migration to the South Island was not planned (Anderson, 1998). Piecemeal, small groups of Kāi Tahu drifted south over a long period of time (Anderson, 1998). The bulk of the Kāi Tahu population was forced south from Kaiapoi and wider regions following threats from the Northern chief Te Rauparaha (Haines, 2003, p.42). Scattered Otago and Murihiku (Southland) settlements had to accommodate and feed more people and the apex of Kāi Tahu political structure moved south. The apex of Kāi Tahu political structure stayed in the south despite the re-establishment of northern Kāi Tahu kaika around Christchurch in the early 1840s (Haines, 2003).

The social structure of Kāi Tahu society in the primordial era was typical of Māori social structures in New Zealand. Early Kāi Tahu society was structured by whakapapa (genealogy) (Anderson, 1998). Whakapapa is a key foundation of mātuaranga Māori (Māori knowledge and understanding) (Roberts et al., 2005). It explains the descent of all animate and inanimate beings from common supernatural ancestors in Māori cosmology, connecting them as a unified whole (Roberts et al., 2005). Whakapapa assisted with maintaining social connections by emphasizing unique linages as well as broad commonalities between distant relations (Haines, 2003). Leadership roles in Kāi Tahu society were also based on the closeness in descent of members of Kāi Tahu from founding ancestors (Haines, 2003).

Throughout New Zealand, Māori society was structured by large iwi groups (tribal groups) determined by waka that Māori arrived on, small hapū (sub-tribes) groups and smaller whānau (family) groups of direct relations (Haines, 2003). Similarly, large groupings of Kāi Tahu and other iwi existed in the South Island. Iwi were then divided

[3] Although Anderson (1998) points out that competing aspirations have been further exposed in more recent histories, this extermination model is a useful reflection of the history of Māori settlement in Otago.

into smaller groupings of hapū and whānau. Relations between hapū could be hostile and competitive because they were driven by the pursuit of mana (authority) (Haines, 2003). However, whakapapa connected hapū, acting as a 'fishing net that contains numerous interwoven strands' (Haines, 2003, p. 14). Kāi Tahu hapū would work together in responses to external threats like those from North Island tribes, in order to reclaim boundaries (Haines, 2003).

Kāi Tahu had specific settlement patterns in the primordial era. Permanent Kāi Tahu settlements did exist throughout the South Island but seasonal mobility was common (Anderson, 1998). Hunting, fishing and gathering sustained tribal societies, who travelled long distances to mahika kai (food gathering) sites (Anderson, 1998; Haines, 2003). Where settlements did exist, land was claimed and divided for exclusive use of hapū or whānau through a system known as wakawaka, which involves the division of land into small or large areas for particular hapū or whānau to use (Williams, 2002). The arrival of Pākehā in the contact era posed a challenge to this social structure by restricting the access that Kāi Tahu had to land and resources. I discuss this in the following subsection.

2.2.2 The Contact Era: 1769 - 1848

The contact era involves the establishment of Pākehā settlement in New Zealand. British explorer Captain James Cook sighted and explored New Zealand in 1769. Pākehā sealers, whalers and traders began to arrive in New Zealand following the discovery of it by Captain James Cook (Orange, 2015). The Treaty of Waitangi was signed as an agreement for Māori and the British to each occupy New Zealand in 1840. The British wanted a way to establish laws to govern settlers and Māori welcomed the trade opportunities that they believed they would gain (Orange, 2015).

British attained governance of New Zealand as a result of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi was translated into both English and Māori. The Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi led Māori to believe that they would retain 'rangatiratanga' (self-determination) (Orange, 2015). However, the British version of the Treaty of Waitangi led British to believe that they also had the right to sovereignty in New Zealand (Orange, 2015). British governance of New Zealand was established soon after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 when a governor was appointed as a ruling figure (Boast, 2015).

The establishment of British governance enabled the British to obtain Māori land. Pre-emption was established as a land acquisition doctrine for Māori land in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi (Boast, 2015). Pre-emption enabled only the Crown to extinguish Māori customary title to land (Boast, 2015). Private individuals were unable to buy land directly from Māori (Boast, 2015). A 'waste-land' policy was also declared (McAloon, 2016). The waste-land policy meant that all land not being used for production by Māori was considered to belong to the Crown (McAloon, 2016).

The British obtained land in Dunedin soon after the declaration of governance. The New Zealand Company was established in London in the early 19th century (Phillips, 2016). The New Zealand Company aimed to introduce settlers to New Zealand to achieve colonisation (Phillips, 2015). Governor Fitzroy, the second governor of New Zealand, waived the policy of Crown pre-emption established following the Treaty of Waitangi, to allow the New Zealand Company to enter into a purchase of land from Kāi Tahu for a planned settlement in Dunedin in the early 1840s (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). This purchase was known as the Ōtākou land purchase. The Ōtākou land purchase included Port Chalmers.

The New Zealand Company land purchase was carried out efficiently. Governor Fitzroy wanted the Ōtākou land purchase to occur without dispute, following the outbreak of disputes over land purchases in the North Island (Dacker, 1994). John Jermyn Symonds was sent to act for the Crown in negotiations in order to avoid conflict (Dacker, 1994). Conflict did arise between Symonds and land surveyor Frederick Tuckett, resulting in New Zealand Company director William Wakefield travelling south to carry out the purchase himself. Wakefield was accompanied by the Commissioner of Land Claims William Spain and the Sub-Protector of Aborigines and Symonds (Dacker, 1994).

Kāi Tahu chiefs agreed to enable the land purchase to proceed. At a meeting on 18 June 1844, the chiefs of Kāi Tahu had expressed a willingness to sell their land. Māori chiefs were willing to sell land because they wanted the trade opportunities that Pākehā settlers would provide and believed that they would retain exclusive control over parts of the land because of Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi (Orange, 2015). The Ōtākou land sale was made on 31 July 1844. The chiefs of Kāi Tahu sold over 400,000 acres of land at Ōtākou for around 2,400 pounds (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). The purchase extended from the Otago peninsula to Taieri plains and valleys south of the Clutha River (Dacker, 1994).

Kāi Tahu retained less land then they expected. The Kāi Tahu chiefs stated their intention to retain the entire east side of the harbour, along with two small reserves for boat landings in Dunedin and one reserve at the site of an urupā in Port Chalmers, called the Koputai (Port Chalmers) Native Reserve (West, 2009). There was also dispute over whether one tenth of the purchase would be reserved for Kāi Tahu, as one tenth of purchases had been reserved in previous Port Nicholson, Nelson and Taranaki settlements (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). However, the agreement for reserves was omitted from the deed (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Kāi Tahu retained control over approximately 2,700 hectares of the Otago Peninsula following the 1844 Ōtākou Purchase, forced to its northern tip of the peninsula (West, 2009, p. 52).

The retention of less land then expected by Kāi Tahu is seen to have challenged the continuation of Kāi Tahu society and culture. The small amount of land provided to Kāi Tahu created difficulty for accessing key resources by closing off access to mahika kai sites (Ballantyne, 2011). The lack of economic base that Kāi Tahu retained and the lack of access to mahika kai created by the land purchase led to the 'dis-integration of the traditional life and society of Kāi Tahu' because customary practices could not be continued and it was difficult to sustain populations with few resources (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, s10.7). The frequent failure of the government to provide schools, hospitals and churches as agreed in the deed added to the cultural and demographic decline of Kāi Tahu (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

Pākehā believed that Kāi Tahu would not persist following land sales because of the challenges posed by land loss and wider factors that caused demographic decline. Diseases had been introduced in the 1830s when settlers began arriving in New Zealand (Orange, 2015). Māori lacked immunity to the diseases because they had not been exposed to them before (Orange, 2015). Following the land sales, Kāi Tahu populations were heavily affected by diseases such as influenza and measles (West, 2009). Intermarriages and the introduction of Christianity also changed the nature of Kāi Tahu society (Haines, 2003). This led to the Pākehā perception that Māori and Kāi Tahu were a 'dying race', which was further developed in the post-contact era (Haines, 2003).

2.2.3 The Post-Contact Era: 1848 to Present

The population of New Zealand increased from 2,000 in the contact era in 1839 to 28,000 in the post-contact era 1852 (Phillips, 2016). The arrival of settlers and purchase of land

by Pākehā continued from 1848 onwards in the post-contact era, as Pākehā population sizes grew. Colonial dominance was swiftly realised through further land sales that limited Kāi Tahu access to mahika kai and prevented Kāi Tahu from carrying out customary lifeways (Ballantyne, 2011).

The Crown entered into several new purchase agreements in the South Island early in the post-contact era, between 1853 and 1860. These were cumulatively known as the Te Waipounamu deed (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). The Te Waipounamu deed purchases would give the Crown title over all of the South Island except for the southern part of Banks Peninsula and Akaroa Harbour, the Marlborough Sounds and parts of the area between Golden Bay and the mouth of the Buller River (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

One of the Te Waipounamu purchases was the Murihiku purchase. This purchase covered an area that included Bluff. Negotiations for the Murihiku purchase began in 1849. Kāi Tahu chief Topi Patuki wrote to Governor Grey expressing a desire to sell land but retain a large area of it and be granted reserves (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). The sale was settled in August 1853. The Murihiku deed was signed by 58 chiefs, following anxious debate about whether to proceed with the purchase after the construction of maps by land surveyor Kettle (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka were each given 1000 pounds when the sale proceeded (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

The reserves that were granted to Kāi Tahu in Murihiku deed have been deemed to be a breach of Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, which promised Māori exclusive control of natural resources and the protection of taonga (highly prized resources) (Orange, 2015). The reserves were considered to be unable to satisfy the present and future needs of Kāi Tahu in Murihiku (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Kāi Tahu in Murihiku were left virtually landless. In 1891, a total of 7.7 per cent of Kāi Tahu in Murihiku were considered to be in possession of sufficient land, 50.6 per cent in possession of insufficient land, and 41.7 per cent landless (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). The introduction of diseases, intermarriage and Christianity also caused a decline in the Murihiku Kāi Tahu population (Dacker, 2006).

Despite land losses and the Pākehā perception that Kāi Tahu were a ‘dying race’, ports and the coast have been seen as key sites of continued Kāi Tahu existence both alongside and ‘away from the eye of Pākeha’ (O’Regan, 2001, p. 81; Haines, 2003). As discussed previously, Kāi Tahu retained some land following the settlement of land sales, through

small reserves left in each settlement deed. This land was predominantly coastal (Ellison, 2011). Kāi Tahu also participated in sealing and whaling and established fishing enterprises at ports following the arrival of settlers (West, 2009). Kāi Tahu developed 'multiple place-based identities' at these sites, such as the identities of Kāi Tahu in Bluff who view themselves as 'Bluffies' (Panelli, 2008, p.52).

However, Kāi Tahu were seen to have disappeared since this time by colonists because of the small amount of resources and land that they had retained and the demographic decline that had been caused by land purchases and factors associated with settlement (Dacker, 1994). The Waitangi Tribunal was then established in 1975 to hear claims from Māori about breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Kāi Tahu re-appeared to Pākehā following the Waitangi Tribunal claim that they made in 1991 and the Treaty of Waitangi settlement in 1998 (Dacker, 1994).

Overall, histories have increasingly recognised that Kāi Tahu society continued throughout the primordial, contact and post-contact eras, despite facing challenges from the arrival of Pākehā and despite Pākehā perceptions that Kāi Tahu would soon no longer persist. Kāi Tahu lost land in Otago and Southland but maintained and adapted lifeways at coastal sites such as ports. I examine the Kāi Tahu lifeways at these port sites since the post-contact era in 1848 in my study because of the lack of acknowledgement of Kāi Tahu since this date. This positions the study most effectively to achieve my objective to challenge past histories and make Kāi Tahu lifeways visible. In the following section, I discuss the nature of Kāi Tahu resource management and the way that the continuation of environmental practices have increasingly been recognised, even though these were seen to have disappeared by Pākehā because of challenges faced by Kāi Tahu throughout the primordial, contact and post-contact eras. This further explains the focus placed on this in my study.

2.3 Kāi Tahu Planning History

Kāi Tahu have always and still do plan, like all indigenous communities (Matunga, 2006). However, Kāi Tahu planning was challenged by the emergence of Pākehā planning throughout the contact and post-contact eras. Kāi Tahu planning also gained little recognition from Pākehā until 1991, despite the continuation of environmental practices. I discuss this in the following section. Kāi Tahu resource management is considered to represent a form of planning and the terms are used interchangeably.

2.3.1 Primordial Era Planning: The Arrival of Kāi Tahu to 1769

Kāi Tahu developed resource management laws in the pre-colonial era. Resource management laws were built through experience with the environment (Williams, 2002). Key laws include concepts such as tapu (sacred) and noa (normal) (Roberts et al., 2005). For example, a rāhui (temporary restriction) can be put in place to make a resource tapu. If an item is tapu then access to it is restricted (Roberts et al., 2005).

Resource management laws that developed are reinforced by social regulation and held in place by ritual controls (Williams, 2002). Social regulation and ritual controls are derived from mātauranga Māori (Roberts et al., 2005). Mātauranga Māori explains the common descent of all beings and establishes expectations of reciprocity between all relations (Roberts et al., 2005). Kāi Tahu are seen to be kaitiaki (stewards), responsible for guarding natural resources, because of their relation to them (Roberts et al., 2005). Natural resources are also closely related to atua (gods).

Resource management laws were strictly followed because of the ritual controls surrounding them (Dacker, 2006). The laws formed part of a wider body of tikanga (customs) that governed Kāi Tahu and Māori society (Roberts et al., 2005). Relationships between atua and the natural resources mean that divine retribution would be sought if Kāi Tahu did not comply with resource management laws (Williams, 2002). Kāi Tahu started wars with very early Pākehā who inadvertently broke them (Dacker, 2006).

Kāi Tahu also developed specific resource management practices. Key practices included animal husbandry, habitat enhancement and population improvement (Williams, 2002). For example, populations of pipi (shellfish) were improved through the seeding of pipi beds with superior shells from other areas (Williams, 2002). Kurī (Polynesian dogs) were also husbanded by being bred in captivity (Williams, 2002). Resources were harvested at particular times of the year determined by environmental indicators (Williams, 2002). Resource harvests were also restricted to certain times based on a moon calendar, so that the population of resources was kept at sustainable levels (Williams, 2002).

Resource management practices developed around mahika kai (land-based and sea based gathered resources). Mahika kai practices involved four ‘important and inter-related elements’; regulated access, seasonal mobility, long-term preservation and resource transport and exchange (Anderson, 1998, p.111). Mobility and seasonality were particularly defining characteristics of pre-colonial Kāi Tahu mahika kai practices. There

were records of Kāi Tahu wandering 'from one place to another' and 'scarcely remaining constantly in the same place' up the coast of the South Island (Anderson, 1998, p. 118).

Mahika kai practices were important because of the assistance that they provided with maintaining social structures. The management and exchange of mahika kai connected hapū to other hapū in the pre-colonial era (Haines, 2003; Ballantyne, 2011). A site near Christchurch called Kaiapoi became a central exchange site. Trade of potted birds from forests of Kaikoura in the north, fish and mutton-birds from southern sea coasts, as well as kiore (rat), weka and kāuru (cabbage tree shoots) from western Canterbury plains and mountains took place at Kaiapoi (Haines, 2003). Kaiapoi was named this way because kai means food and poi means to swing on the spot (Haines, 2003). The name indicates the importance of Kaiapoi for trade.

The Otago harbour was a particularly central site for Kāi Tahu mahika kai practices. Kāi Tahu used waka such as mokihi, waka taua, waka tiwai and waka hunua to navigate the harbour and utilise its resources efficiently (McLean, 1985, p.20). The Ngāi Tahu Natural Resource Management Plan 2005 (NRMP, 2005) explains:

'The Otago Harbour Catchment is a special feature of the Otago region and is highly valued by Kāi Tahu ki Otago. The bays near the mouth of the Otago Harbour provided proximity to the ocean, access on the tide to the head of the harbour and at low tide the abundant shellfish beds were a prized resource. Bays and inlets to the north of Otago Harbour and bays and inlets along the coast of Otago Peninsula and south to Taieri Mouth were popular sites for settlements also. The attributes of shelter, easy access to fishing grounds, and bush-clad hills with an abundance of bird life, building material and edible vegetation complemented the strong kaimoana (seafood) resource that abounded.'

The use of water was also central to Kāi Tahu mahika kai practices in Murihiku. Kāi Tahu followed coastal sea lakes, harbours and beaches in waka to travel between key sites for resources in Murihiku, maintaining their ahikaaroa (burning fires of occupation) while carrying out seasonal harvests (Anderson, 1998; Dacker, 2006). The annual harvest of tītī (mutton-bird) from the Tītī Islands in Bluff was also an important practice that provided a food source for Kāi Tahu in Murihiku (O'Regan, 2002).

Pākehā have recognised the ability of Kāi Tahu to practice resource management during the primordial era. As I explained in the previous section, access to mahika kai was not

closed off because Kāi Tahu had full ownership of land (Ballantyne, 2011). Pākehā settlers had not begun to arrive and limit Kāi Tahu access to land through gaining control of it from land purchases and dividing it for their own private use (Ballantyne, 2011). Customary practices continued without interruption. However, like Kāi Tahu society, Kāi Tahu resource management was challenged throughout the contact era, as I explain in the following subsection.

2.3.2 Contact Era Planning: 1769-1848

Kāi Tahu maintained their own resource management laws and practices within the contact era (O'Regan, 1994). The continued practice of tītī harvesting demonstrates this. Tītī harvesting was carried out by Kāi Tahu annually on the Tītī Islands near Stewart Island. Exclusive rights to tītī harvesting were retained by Kāi Tahu. Continued tītī harvesting provided Kāi Tahu with a key source of food (Anderson, 1998; Stevens, 2006). The tītī harvest and other environmental practices involved philosophies of respect and conservation, which sustained the resources and, in turn, the practices (Ellis, 2000). Traditional environmental knowledge enabled the prediction of environmental parameters that ensured that the efficiency of harvests could be maximized, while resources are sustained (Lyver, 2002).

However, a formal Pākehā planning system began to develop after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. Private corporations such as the New Zealand Company made plans for systematic settlement (Miller, 2015). Local and central government was also established following the declaration of governance made by the British after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 (Miller, 2015). Local and central government began to make legislative planning measures (Miller, 2015). The Municipal Corporations Ordinance 1842 was passed and provided local authorities with the power to make and maintain roads, water and sewage infrastructure (Miller, 2015). Property owners were largely free to construct what they liked (Miller, 2015). This regime continued to challenge Kāi Tahu practices and provided for little recognition of them in the post-contact era.

2.3.3 Post-Contact Era Planning: 1848 to Present

Kāi Tahu adapted practices in the post-contact era in response to the arrival of Pākehā (O'Regan, 1994). Practices such as tītī harvesting provided a continued 'exception to the colonial rule' (Stevens, 2006, p.273). According to O'Regan (2001), Kāi Tahu worked as

families on grounds worked for generations at the Tītī Islands. Kāi Tahu also persisted through an identity that shifted through interactions with the environment, other Māori, Pākeha and the Crown throughout the post contact era (O'Regan, 2001). Kāi Tahu resource management continued through these adapted practices (Ballantyne, 2011).

However, Pākehā have not widely recognised the continuation of the Māori resource management laws and practices throughout the post-contact era (Monin, 2009). As I explained in the previous section, Kāi Tahu had become invisible to colonists following the loss of resources and Kāi Tahu identity that resulted from the Ōtākou land purchase and Murihiku land purchase. For most Pākehā, Kāi Tahu planning then only 're-appeared on stage' when Māori culture was reasserted as part of the Māori renaissance in the 1970s (Dacker, 1994, p.1). Historical narratives and Pākehā planning have also reflected this perception (Dacker, 1994).

The formal Pākehā planning system became further established and was recognised as the dominant planning system in New Zealand. The Plans for Towns Regulation Act 1875 was the first town planning legislation passed in New Zealand (Miller, 2015). The Plans for Towns Regulation Act 1875 empowered local councils to make bylaws in order to protect public health and regulate building (Miller, 2015). The Town-Planning Act 1926 then enabled local councils to regulate land-use for particular activities and required local councils with populations of 1000 or more to prepare district planning schemes (Miller, 2015). Planning standards were introduced in the 1940s and the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 required every local planning authority to maintain a district planning scheme (Miller, 2015).

The New Zealand Town and County Planning Act 1977 increased community planning participation and provided the first recognition of Māori within Pākehā planning. A Resource Management Law Reform then took place under deputy Prime Minister and Minster for the Environment Geoffrey Palmer, following the election of the fourth Labour Government in 1987 (Miller, 2011). One of Palmer's aims was to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi (Miller, 2011). The review of resource management legislation bought the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) into existence. The RMA formally incorporated Māori, Māori environmental relationships and Māori stewardship into the Pākehā planning framework (Matunga, 2000).

Section 6(e) of the RMA establishes 'the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu (sacred sites), and other taonga' as a 'matter of national importance' that must be taken into account by 'all persons exercising functions' under the RMA. Section 7(a) of the RMA requires particular regard to kaitiakitanga and section 8 of the RMA requires the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to be taken into account.

In addition, a wide range of mechanisms for the inclusion of Māori in planning and resource management were established by the RMA. For example, section 36 of the RMA does not require consultation for resource consent applications, but consultation is recommended to help identify any iwi concerns (Quality Planning, 2016). Consultation with tangata whenua (people of the land) is required for the development of plans and policy statements (Quality Planning, 2016). Section 2 of the RMA recognises iwi authorities as having the authority to represent iwi (Quality Planning, 2016). Cultural impact assessments have been developed as a tool to identify iwi concerns and iwi management plans (IMP) have been developed as a result of the statutory requirement to acknowledge IMP in sections 61(2A)(a), 66(2A)(a), and 74(2A) of the RMA (Quality Planning, 2016). Section 36B of the RMA also enables joint management agreements to be made with iwi authorities and hapū (Matunga, 2006; Quality Planning, 2016). Local councils have used iwi liaison officers to engage with iwi and have established relationships with iwi planning authorities (Matunga, 2006).

Māori environmental management philosophies have since also been acknowledged and reflected in other modern planning tools, including urban design protocol and regional and local planning frameworks (Awatere et al., 2010; Henderson, 1994). For example, unique architectural and building practices that incorporate both Māori and Pākehā understandings have been developed (Brown, 2009). Awatere et al. (2010) developed a set of nine key principles and values that underpin qualities of Māori papakāinga (housing on multiply-owned Māori land) design- kotahitanga (collaboration), wairuatanga (spirit), manaakintanga (hospitality), mātauranga (knowledge), rangatiratanga (leadership), whanaungatanga (membership), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), orangatanga (health) and mauritanga (life-force). These principles can be incorporated into the design of living spaces (Awatere et al., 2010).

The RMA mechanisms may help to ensure the continuation of Kāi Tahu resource management within a contemporary context. For example, the Resource Management Law Reform and the tools introduced through it have been viewed as providing statutory recognition of the existence of dual Māori and Pākeha planning systems (Matunga, 2006). They are seen to help to 'break through' the past ignorance of Māori planning, forcing a shift to inclusion of Māori in planning processes and issues (Matunga, 2006). The unique contributions that Māori practices can make to resource management are now viewed as important by planners (Dacker, 2006). Recognition and incorporation of the practices into planning is seen to provide for inclusive planning that allows indigenous people to participate 'in their own terms, in their own way' and builds culturally and environmentally sustainable futures (Matunga, 2006).

However, doubt still remains as to whether these mechanisms provide for the long-standing Māori and Kāi Tahu planning practices that have been so often excluded from the institutionalized colonial legal and political framework (Matunga, 2000). In addition, as I have explained, the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and Kāi Tahu resource management over time has not been acknowledged, with focus placed on the primordial era and this modern era alone following formalisation of the Pākehā planning system (Dacker, 1994). The potential inadequacy of the RMA and lack of recognition of Kāi Tahu society and planning throughout the contact and post-contact eras provides a rationale for my aim to explore the continued existence of Kāi Tahu at ports between 1848 and 2016. I now explain narratives of Port Chalmers and Bluff that have overlooked the continuation of Kāi Tahu to further explain the focus of my study on these ports.

2.4 Histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff

In the following section, I trace past histories of Port Chalmers and Bluff to illustrate how these have marginalised Kāi Tahu and have not recognised the continuation of Kāi Tahu resource management following the contact era in 1848. These histories provide a contrast to the histories that recognise the continuation of Kāi Tahu society and planning, outlined in the previous section. When I refer to past histories I am generally referring to histories written before the 'Māori renaissance' in the late 20th century, when Māori re-appeared to Pākehā (Dacker, 1994). I begin by explaining past port histories of New Zealand, which establish trends following in Port Chalmers and Bluff histories. I then explain the development and management of each port that is often presented by past narratives.

Past port histories explain how New Zealand ports were developed to provide housing for sealing, whaling and timber ships from the early arrival of settlers in the 1790s to the mid-1860s (McLean, 1985). Ports were governed by harbour masters, who were appointed by the governor of New Zealand in the 1840s to oversee early changes to ports when colonial settlement was being established. The central government became involved in port management through the Chief Marine Board that was established in 1862 and the Marine Department that was established in 1866 (McLean, 1985). Harbour Boards were then created in the 1870s to control port development. New Zealand ports have since been developed to provide for more intensive trade. This later port development is viewed as a struggle between 'larger ships and harbour engineers trying to gain depth' (McLean, 1985, p.97).

Large ports have developed in certain areas. Ports were smaller and scattered throughout New Zealand when statistics were first released in 1853 (Rimmer, 1967). However, ports in larger centres eventually dealt with the majority of trade (Rimmer, 1967). The commercial opportunities that these ports could provide eventually became a focus in port development. Waterfronts where ports were established were turned into 'playgrounds' and 'public spectacles' as the global 'ship to shop' phenomena of port development spread to New Zealand (McLean, 2001, p. 211). The development of Port Chalmers and Bluff reflects these broad trends of the historical narrative and historical expansion of ports.

2.4.1 Historical Narratives of Port Chalmers

Past historical narratives of Port Chalmers tend to begin with the arrival of settlers in the contact era in 1826 (Church, 1994). Focus is then placed on the establishment of key colonial enterprises during the contact era, such as the shore whaling station established by the Weller Brothers on the Otago Peninsula in 1831 (West, 2009). Port Chalmers is then seen to follow a trend of development to serve colonial aims to enhance economic opportunities as the narratives continue, like other New Zealand ports.

As explained, Port Chalmers was purchased by the New Zealand Company in the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase. A deep water port was then established at Port Chalmers based on the vision of the New Zealand Company (Church, 1991). Port Chalmers was chosen as a port site because of its ability to act as a deep water port and because of the shelter that it provided (Farrant, 1952).

The port and settlement developed swiftly. Scottish settlers arrived in Port Chalmers on the *John Wickliffe* and *Phillip Laing* at the beginning of the post-contact era in 1848 (Campbell, 2013). The Scottish settlers established a settlement at Port Chalmers between 1848 and 1861. The fast arrival of settlers in Dunedin caused by gold rushes in the early 1860s and 1870s then led to swift development of the Port Chalmers settlement and the port (Church, 1994). The port had few facilities other than some small, wooden jetties when it was established in 1848 (Farrant, 1952). The infrastructure of the port was developed as port technologies and use of the port advanced throughout the 19th century. The early port and settlement is shown in Figure 2.1.

The port and harbour were developed to facilitate trade. The harbour was long and shallow, divided in two by a sandbank (McLintock, 1951). The Port Chalmers and Portobello peninsulas sat on either side of the harbour, linked by rock bound passages (McLintock, 1951). The narrow passage caused difficulty for ships entering the harbour and travelling to Dunedin (McLintock, 1951). The Victoria Ship Channel was created in 1881, in order to enable larger ships to travel through the port to Dunedin (McLintock, 1951). The location of the Victoria Ship Channel is shown in Figure 2.2. The development of Port Chalmers was also boosted when New Zealand's first refrigerated meat shipment was carried out at the port in 1882. The port and port settlement have developed steadily since this time (Church, 1991).

Figure 2.1: The Port Chalmers settlement in 1867. A floating dock is being constructed on the foreshore (McLintock, 1951, p. 100).

Figure 2.2: Map showing Port Chalmers and the location of the Victoria Ship Channel.

In Pākehā histories, Port Chalmers port facilities have been continually developed, especially in the 1970s when ‘a period of intense activity’ took place as a result of the establishment of a container terminal (Port Otago Limited, 2015). For example, the POL ‘Next Generation’ plan that is currently proposed is to dredge and expand the channel, deepen the berth and construct new container facilities (Port Otago Limited, 2015). Port Chalmers is now the deepest container port in New Zealand. The Port Chalmers settlement and port are shown in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Port Chalmers settlement and port. The container terminal has become a prominent feature of the port (Port Chalmers Seafood Festival, 2016).

Past historical narratives of Port Chalmers have focused on this swift arrival of settlers and continued growth and development of the port as determined by Pākehā. Narratives of Port Chalmers management similarly focus on the dominance of Pākehā at the port.

2.4.2 Pākehā Management of Port Chalmers

According to predominant histories, Pākehā established authority over Port Chalmers soon after the sustained arrival of settlers in the post-contact era in 1848. New Zealand was divided into six provinces in 1853. Each of the six provinces had their own provincial government (Dalziel, 1992). The Otago Provincial Government gained control of Port Chalmers along with the rest of the Otago Province. The first Port Chalmers harbour-master was also appointed in 1860 (Church, 1994). Provincial government was then abolished in New Zealand in 1876. Following this, the development of Port Chalmers was largely controlled by the Port Chalmers Borough Council and the OHB, which had been established in 1874 following concerns that Port Chalmers was not developing swiftly enough (Church, 1991).

Pākehā attempted to maintain dominance over the management of Port Chalmers late in the 20th century. The structure of local government in New Zealand was reformed in 1988

(Dalziel, 1992). New Zealand then had twelve regions with sixty district councils and twelve city councils (Miller, 2011). The Dunedin City Council (DCC) and the Otago Regional Council (ORC) were established in Dunedin. The development of Port Chalmers became controlled through the District and Regional Plans that the DCC and ORC must establish under section 31 and section 30 of the RMA, to achieve 'integrated management of the effects of use, development, or protection of land' and the 'integrated management of the natural and physical resources of the region'.

The OHB was also abolished during the reform of local government that took place in 1988. The port development functions of the OHB were taken over by POL (Church, 1994). POL is owned by the ORC and is responsible for the commercial operations of the port (Church, 1994). The Port Chalmers community board was also created to carry out functions delegated by the DCC and advocate for community interests (Dalziel, 1992).

This subsection has traced past historical narratives of Port Chalmers that focus on the continued authority of Pākehā during its growth and development, explaining how the port developed from the perspective of these dominant histories. I next explain similar narratives that establish Pākehā dominance over Bluff.

2.4.3 Historical Narratives of Bluff

Past port histories often begin with the discovery of Bluff's resources by settlers in the *Endeavour* expedition in 1770 and explain how Bluff became a key site for sealing. Seals were exterminated by the 1820s (Hall-Jones, 1976). Bluff is seen to have become the first colonial settlement in New Zealand. It is believed that colonial settlement was established when James Spencer established a trading depot in Bluff in the mid-1820s (Hall-Jones, 1976).

Like Port Chalmers, Bluff follows a trend of development in past port histories. The early Bluff economy is seen to have developed successfully. A whaling station was established at Bluff. The whaling station operated until the extermination of whales in 1836 (Hall-Jones, 1976). Frozen meat soon became a key trade commodity when a freezer was established at the port in 1885 (Farrant, 1952). Oysters, lobsters, grain and timber were also key trade commodities (Hall-Jones, 1976).

Bluff land was obtained by colonists in the 1853 Murihiku land purchase. Following this, Bluff was viewed as a key port of entry for the south (Hall-Jones, 1976). Surveyor John Turnbull Thomson soon laid out plans for a town and Bluff was declared to be an official port of entry in 1856 (Hall-Jones, 1976). The future of Bluff as a key port settlement was believed to have been secured when a railroad from Invercargill to Bluff was constructed in 1867 (Hall-Jones, 1976; Skerrett, 1997). The railroad ensured that goods could be transported inland from the port (Hall-Jones, 1976).

Bluff is also seen to have been developed to enhance economic opportunities. The site for the Bluff port was originally selected because of the Bluff Harbour had a deep channel. The deep channel provided ease of access for ships (McFarlane, 1962). The port site was also sheltered and had a natural harbour (Farrant, 1952; McFarlane, 1962). The location of the Bluff port is shown in Figure 2.4. The port was developed to support the oyster-catching and fishing industries that were established in Bluff and the meat, dairy, grain and fertilizer exports that took place (McFarlane, 1962). Rock blasting and dredging were carried out to increase the supply of water to the port. The Marine Department reclaimed 22 acres of foreshore for port development in 1912 (Hall-Jones, 1976).

The Bluff port was continually developed to facilitate trade. The creation of a Bluff Island Harbour at the Bluff port began in 1952. A foreshore rubble wall was constructed, sand was pumped and land was reclaimed (Bremer, 1986). The establishment of the first cargo shed at the port soon after in 1960 has been viewed as a success. The cargo shed was established when Bluff was the site of New Zealand's largest mutton and lamb exports (Hall-Jones, 1976; Skerrett 1997). When Bluff was not able to successfully compete with Lyttleton as the site of the South Island's second container port in 1967, Bluff port was dredged and reclaimed to enable large cargo vessels and roll on, roll off vessels to enter the port (Hall-Jones, 1976). Aluminium then became a key export item for Bluff when the Tiwai smelter was established on the Tiwai peninsula in 1971 (Hall-Jones, 1976).

Industry in Bluff declined since the closure of the freezing works in 1980 (Stevens, 2016). However, the port remains as a significant part of the Bluff economy and landscape, connecting residents to nation-wide and foreign markets (Stevens, 2016). The current Bluff port and settlement are shown in Figure 2.4. Bluff's Island Harbour is the main hub of the ports activities and the port has three main wharves and other places of operation.

The settlement and economy of Bluff are seen to have developed steadily since the discovery of the port by Pākehā in 1770, despite challenges that may have been faced. Similarly, the authority of Pākehā management of the port is seen to have been sustained in dominant port histories.

Figure 2.4: The position of the Bluff Island Harbour and Te Rau Aroha marae in Bluff.

Figure 2.5: The Bluff port and settlement (A World History of Bluff, 2016).

2.4.4 Pākehā Management of Bluff

Southland was part of the Otago Province when provinces were first established in New Zealand in 1853 (Dalziel, 1991). The Otago Provincial Government had authority over the development of Bluff in Pākehā narratives (Miller, 2011). The Bluff Borough Council and Bluff Harbour Board (BHB) were then established when provincial government was abolished in New Zealand in 1876. The BHB became the Southland Harbour Board (SHB) in the mid-20th century. The Invercargill City Council (ICC) and Environment Southland (ES) took over the management of Bluff from the SHB and Bluff Borough Council when local government was reformed in 1988. The ICC and ES control port development through the same statutory processes as the authorities in Port Chalmers.

South Port New Zealand Limited (SPNZL) was also established to take over from the BHB and control the development of the Bluff port in 1988. SPNZL control port development with the assistance of ES, who own 66.5% of the port (SPNZL, 2016). SPNZL and ES are seen to take a 'strong governance and process-driven approach' to continuous port improvement, despite the industrial decline of Bluff that reduced the significance of the port (*Southland Times*, 2015). The Bluff community board was also formed to carry out ICC functions and advocate for Bluff community interests.

As I explained previously, these port histories of colonial port development and management have remained dominant. The continuation of Kāi Tahu society and planning that I explained in the previous sections became invisible, with Kāi Tahu only re-emerging in the 1970s following the reassertion of Māori culture in the Māori renaissance and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (Dacker, 1994). The need to reveal the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at the ports provides a rationale for my research aim to make Kāi Tahu visible at Port Chalmers and Bluff from the post-contact era in 1848. I next explain the current structure of Kāi Tahu society at the ports to provide further context for the focus of my study.

2.5 Current Kāi Tahu Society

A governing entity called Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRoNT) was established for Kāi Tahu under the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 (TRoNT, 2016). Kāi Tahu are now the principle southern iwi in New Zealand. The Kāi Tahu takiwā is the largest takiwā of all iwi. The takiwā extends through the entire South Island up to Blenheim (TRoNT,

2016). There are 18 rūnaka (governing groups) and five primary hapū within TRONT. There are also 18 papatipu rūnaka (constituent areas) (TRoNT, 2016).

There are three rūnaka in Otago; Te Rūnaka o Moeraki, Kati Huirapa ki Puketeraki and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou (TRoNT, 2016). I focus on Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in this study because Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have lived in close proximity to Port Chalmers. The Ōtākou marae (meeting grounds) is located on the opposite side of the Otago Harbour from Port Chalmers, near Harbour Cone, as shown in Figure 1.3 and in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6: Port Chalmers and Harbour Cone. The Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou marae is located close to Port Chalmers near Harbour Cone, the rounded hill across the harbour from the port.

There are four Kāi Tahu rūnaka in Southland; Waihopai Rūnaka, Te Rūnaka o Oraka Aparima, Hokonui Rūnaka and Awarua Rūnaka. I focus on Awarua Rūnaka in this study because the rohe (tribal boundaries) of Awarua Rūnaka extends to Bluff. Te Rau Aroha marae is the marae of Awarua Rūnaka. Te Rau Aroha marae is also located in Bluff, in the location shown in Figure 2.4.

The establishment of a structured Kāi Tahu society illustrates how Kāi Tahu society and planning has continued at the ports through these rūnaka, despite Pākeha perceptions that Kāi Tahu did not persist following the primordial era. I focus on Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and

Awarua Rūnaka in this study to illustrate how Kāi Tahu have continued to engage with planning of Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848.

2.6 Conclusion

In chapter 2, I have explained the persistence of Kāi Tahu lifeways and environmental management at ports and the continuation of Kāi Tahu planning throughout the primordial, contact and post-contact eras. I have explained how despite significant resource losses through land sales and Pākehā perceptions, Kāi Tahu continued to practice lifeways and resource management beyond the primordial era. Histories that acknowledge this continued presence have begun to emerge. However, I have explained traditional historical narratives of the development and management of Port Chalmers and Bluff and illustrated the way that these marginalise Kāi Tahu. The writing out of Kāi Tahu in the history and management of the ports provides a rationale for my research objective to assess the extent to which Kāi Tahu were visible at Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848. I aim to build on the histories that acknowledge the presence of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning, challenging dominant port histories by exploring the continuation of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou at Port Chalmers and Awarua Rūnaka at Bluff following the primordial era. I do this through my research questions in chapters 5, 6 and 7, which focus on the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways since 1848. I outline theories that I utilise to explore this ongoing Kāi Tahu presence at ports in chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Shared and Contested Port Spaces

3.1 Introduction

In the following section I present a theoretical discussion that explores key concepts that I utilise in the research. I draw on three key areas of social geography and planning theory related to conceptualisations of ports. I first examine ideas surrounding space and place. I focus on the notion that space and place are unfixed because they are global, progressive and made through multiple social realities. I explore how this unfixed notion of space and place can enable the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff to be acknowledged by revealing the presence of multiple actors. I secondly discuss conceptualizations of ports. I focus on the idea that ports are key sites of inter-change where multiple actors and cross-cultural power dynamics are present. I use this understanding of ports to justify exploration of the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. I thirdly discuss theoretical arguments about the need to observe material realities to determine colonial power and indigenous agency. I examine how observation of material realities can explain the establishment of colonial authority over Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff and the agency of indigenous people. I build on and utilise the literature explored in this chapter in chapters 5, 6 and 7, through my challenge to past colonial historical narratives that tell of the limited presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

3.2 Space and Place

The first section of the theoretical discussion outlines the development of theories of space and place. I outline the conceptualisation of space and place as unfixed and the use of this definition in local historical studies. I discuss how the making of space and place can be viewed as a result of multiple actors and can challenge narratives that do not acknowledge their presence.

3.2.1 Unfixed Space and Place

The spatial turn took place amongst scholars of various disciplines in the 1990s, as a result of an increase in world-wide entanglements caused by globalisation (Middell and Naumann, 2010). The notion that space and place have unfixed identities was developed during the spatial turn. The definition became especially relevant for interactions across the maritime units of ocean and sea. This is because the ocean and sea came to be

understood as ‘intrinsically unstable and contested’ areas with ‘fluctuating spatial borders’ (Middell and Nauman, 2010, p.159). Understanding the maritime environment in this way enables acknowledgement that the principal dynamic for development is a result of interaction between societies, rather than the internal evolution of them (Middell and Naumann, 2010).

The view that space and place are not fixed has been further developed by scholars such as Massey (2010), who recognises the need for a global and progressive sense of place where places are viewed as key meeting sites (Withers, 2009). Massey suggests that places should not be viewed as closed areas with boundaries but rather as open and ‘articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings… constructed on far larger scales than what we define for that moment as the place itself’ (Massey, 2010, p.7). According to Massey (2010) then, space and place are unfixed because they are ‘constantly reshaped through the thrown-togetherness of things and bodies’ that are present at them (Saldanha, 2013, p.47).

According to Massey (2010) power geometries structure the relationships between multiple actors in space and place. Actors whose relationships are structured by power geometries are placed ‘in distinct ways in relation to flows and interconnections’ (Massey, 2010, p.3). These structures enable some actors to be in charge, some actors to initiate and some actors to receive from those who are in charge (Massey, 2010). The power geometries also imprison some actors (Massey, 2010). Power geometries continue to exist within the ‘ever present and never fixed multiplicity of the social sphere’ (Bond and Kindon, 2013, p. 192). These continued power geometries have led to a ‘simultaneity of stories’ in historical studies (Bond and Kindon, 2013, p. 197).

3.2.2 Use of the Unfixed Definition of Space and Place in History

A need for historical studies to recognise space and place as unfixed has been identified. For example, Driver and Samuel (1995 in: Withers, 2009, p. 648) identify a need to move beyond the ‘comforting but disastrous’ idea that places have fixed identities, which has been produced by ‘inward looking historians’. The idea that places have fixed identities is seen as ‘disastrous’ because it does not acknowledge multiple actors and power relations and help to overcome the ‘simultaneity of stories’ so far (Driver and Samuel, 1995 in: Withers, 2009, p. 648; Bond and Kindon, 2013, p. 192). Moreover, Ballantyne (2011, p.50) calls for historians to ‘grapple with questions of location, space and

scale…looking under and beyond, as well as across the nation' to recognise the broad contexts within which they exist. Ballantyne (2011) views recognition of the unfixed identity of place within New Zealand historical scholarship as particularly important because of the omission of this in the past.

The spatial turn has asserted the importance of geographical place in social science and history (Withers, 2009). As Kingston (2010, p.111) concluded, 'we cannot turn back. In the past ten years, scholarly articles, symposia, and special issues of major journals, have all celebrated history's rediscovery of space and place'. The competing ontologies of spatiality and temporality have been paired and historians now draw on post-modern theories of space and place (Allweil, 2010; Kingston, 2010). Recognition of the importance of space and place has coincided with a strong turn to the study of built environments as a means of understanding social and historical processes. Scholars such as Lefebvre have viewed the production of built spaces as the reproduction of social relations. Scholars such as Foucault have viewed built spaces like ships as places of 'floating ideas, ideologies and even dreams', recognising the social processes that occur within them (Withers, 2009; O'Hara, 2009, p.1125; Allweil, 2010).

Driver and Samuel (1995, in: Withers, 2009, p. 648) explain that local historians writing about places and the past have questioned how to tell 'non-bounded' historical stories that recognise places as the product of a multiplicity of cross-cutting social relations. The aim of telling 'non-bounded' historical stories is to decentre orthodox understandings of local history by recognising the existence of multiple actors. Massey (2005) points out how the recognition of local places as relational and as impossible to close and make fixed requires understanding of the political struggles within spaces and the connection of these local political struggles to their global context. The openness of unfixed notions of space and place enables recognition of global political struggles and decentres orthodox local historical understandings of space and place, illustrating the multiple actors involved in making them.

The understanding of space and place as relational, extraverted and unfixed is relevant to post-colonial local histories. As Ballantyne (2011) explains, post-colonial New Zealand writing has adopted a static view towards the vision of the nation-state. This static view fails to recognise that the making of New Zealand identity has been part of a broader imperial project, entwined with global capitalism and modernity (Ballantyne, 2011). A

recent attempt to overcome this static vision of New Zealand identity has been made by Byrnes (2009) in the *New Oxford History of New Zealand*. Byrne's (2009) aims to complicate New Zealand history by viewing national identity as cultural colonialism. The relational and transnational understanding of space and place enables post-colonial writing to further contest the notion of colonial dominance and the fixed vision of the nation-state. It reveals the construction of empire and its spatial and historical legacies by illustrating the globally influenced nature of space and the power geometries between multiple actors involved in making it (Withers, 2009; Ballantyne, 2011).

3.2.3 Implications of the Definition of Space and Place as Unfixed

The questioning of colonial hegemony provided by the understanding of space and place as unfixed sheds light on the multiplicity of actors involved in the construction of post-colonial New Zealand's material spaces. The extraverted and progressive sense of place acknowledges 'multiple becomings' (Saldanha, 2013, p. 173 and 195), calling into question the negotiation of place by recognising the construction of place and its location within wider relations and the ongoing multiplicities that shape it (Massey, 2005). In the New Zealand context, this reveals the historical and ontological existence of Māori and the inter-woven nature of the making of New Zealand identity and place, calling into question hegemonic histories of colonial rule and the denial of indigenous lifeways (Bond and Kindon, 2013).

The recognition of both Pākehā and Māori actors is particularly relevant to resource management in New Zealand. After examining the ability of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) to incorporate Māori values when it was first passed in 1991, Henderson (1994) proposed that New Zealand's planning system suffers from a colonial hangover. According to Henderson (1994) the colonial hangover involves the continued permeation of colonial subjugation of indigenous beliefs in New Zealand's present day resource management legislation, policy and institutions. The colonial hangover also involves a failure of resource management to bring into being the bicultural society promised by the Treaty of Waitangi (Henderson, 1994).

In this thesis, I apply the perspective of space and place developed in the spatial turn to the post-colonial New Zealand context in order to produce a local history that recognises the ongoing existence of both Pākehā and Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. The

understanding of space and place as unfixed enables me to view and question whether Port Chalmers and Bluff are shaped by the cultural systems of both Kāi Tahu and Pākehā.

3.3 Shared Spaces and Contested Places: Ports as Sites Shaped by Multiple Actors

In the following section, I explain how port sites particularly are places where multiple actors exist. I explain how the multiplicity of actors and power geometries can be observed in exchanges that take place in port development. This conceptualisation of ports provides a theoretical background for a focus on the presence of both Kāi Tahu and Pākehā in the development of Port Chalmers and Bluff.

Ports have been recognised as key sites of exchange in which 'land and water-borne transport systems converge' (Gilliland, 2004, p. 449). Waterborne commerce is also exchanged at ports, when cargo is moved 'amongst vessels and between vessels' (Mayer, 1988, p.78). In addition, passengers are exchanged at ports, among and between 'vessels, overland carriers and sites alongshore' (Mayer, 1988, p.78). Cross-cultural exchange take place at ports through interactions that occur as actors and goods travel through ports to enter and exit the hinterlands that the ports connect to.

Ports have been key sites of development throughout time because of the exchange that they facilitate. Harbours have been opened and dredged to increase width and depth, channels have been straightened, land area has been created by fill and artificial harbours have been created (Mayer, 1988). Port development has been carried out to an especially large extent because of colonial desires to facilitate the movement of industrial and commercial goods, as well as passenger and navy traffic (Mayer, 1988). For example, in New Zealand, ports were developed from natural harbours to operating ports throughout the colonial era as they kept pace with technological advances (Rimmer, 1967).

Studies of port development reveal that multiple actors are involved in the development ports. Massey's (2005), and Brownhill and O'Hara's (2015) studies of the conflicts over the development of the London Docklands by the London Dockland Development Company concluded that port development is a non-linear, 'varied and chaotic process' involving contestation between differing identities and visions acting simultaneously to shape the ports and the 'mobility of space and place as weapons…and…stakes' in conflicts (Brownill and O'Hara, 2015, p.564). This illustrates the nature of ports as shared and contested but material spaces where multiple actors are present.

3.3.1 The Power Geometries of Multiple Actors

The role that multiple actors at ports play in port development processes illustrates the ability of certain actors to dominant others. That is, it highlights the power geometries that operate in and beyond the space. For example, ports have been viewed as 'spaces of dependence and engagement', centred on dominant actors attempting to create desired conditions for 'the unimpeded flow of goods' (Hall and Clark, 2011, p.19). The role of less dominant actors at ports can be made evident through observation of these development processes that are controlled by colonial actors.

Certain phases of port development involve increased contestations. Phases of port development with increased contestations best illustrate the roles of actors in development. Hoyle et al. (1988 in: Gordon, 2001) suggests four key stages of historic city-port development that occurred as a result of global forces and trends[4]. The first phase is described as the 19th century "primitive city-port", which used medieval technology to unload sailing ships (Gordon, 2001). The second phase is the late 19th century expansion of ports, where ports were rebuilt to accommodate steamships (Gordon, 2001). The third phase is the swift emergence of modern industrial city-ports in the 1960s and 1970s. This phase was swift because of rapid trade expansion, the technological advances that spurred it and the desire of ports to develop to accommodate modernisation and growth (Chilcote, 1988; Bevan, 2014). The fourth phase is port retreat from the waterfront, which it is argued was caused by the reduction in need for labour due to containerisation (Gordon, 2001). These phases are shown in Table 3.1.

[4] Hoyle's (1988 in: Gordon, 2001) phases of city-port development provide an indication of clear stages in port development. The phases are referred to in order to clarify phases of port development in Port Chalmers and Bluff, despite the fact that these ports are not located in large cities.

Table 3.1: Historic port development phases (Hoyle et al., 1988 in: Gordon, 2001, p.401).

Stage	Symbol (○ city ● port)	Period	Characteristics
(I) Primitive cityport		Ancient–medieval to 19th century	Close spatial and functional association between city and port
(II) Expanding cityport		19th–early 20th century	Rapid commercial and industrial growth forces port to develop beyond city confines, with linear quays and break–bulk industries
(III) Modern industrial cityport		mid-20th century	Industrial growth (especially oil refining) and introduction of containers and ro-ro facilities require separation and increased space
(IV) Retreat from tthe waterfront		1960–1980s	Changes in maritime technology induce growth of separate maritime industrial development areas
(V) Redevelopment of the waterfront		1970–1990s	Large-scale modern port consumes large areas of land- and water-space; urban renewal of original core

Exchanges between multiple port actors took place during contestations over decisions to develop ports throughout these phases. Contestations were particularly prevalent in decisions about whether to increase land and water area in the second phase of expansion and the third phase of modern industrial city-port development. Development was required in phases three and four to accommodate containerisation technologies and increased ship sizes that provided increases in the efficiency and productivity of shipping (Mayer, 1988). Strong international interconnections also developed as a result of the compression of trade distance caused by the technologies developed during these phases (Pascali, 2014; Table 3.1).

A fifth, current phase of city-port development is suggested by Hoyle (1988 in: Gordon, 2001), which involves redevelopment of waterfronts. Hoyle (1988 in: Gordon, 2001). This is a phenomenon that 'became a major planning activity in almost every port city in the 1970s and 1980s' and followed the fourth phase of waterfront retreat. The contemporary roles of multiple port actors can be examined in the tensions that occur within this fifth phase of city-port development. A wide body of literature has recognised this phenomenon and explored the competing demands and interests of port authorities,

communities and developers over land, social, economic and environmental concerns involved (Hoyle, 2000).

In this thesis, I recognise that the nature of ports as sites of exchange makes ports sites where multiple actors that exist. I view the constant exchange that takes place throughout port development as an effective place to examine the power geometries that exist between actors. The contestations and time periods of the particular port phases mean that these phases occur at different times in different locations. Nevertheless, the different phases are reflected in Port Chalmers and Bluff and are discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7.

3.4 Material Realities of Spaces and Places

The subsequent section explains the increased use of material realities to illustrate colonial authority and the need to examine these material histories over long periods of time. Calls for the recognition of the continued agency of indigenous people within material spaces are also discussed.

One way to understand colonial experiences and interactions is through the observation of material realities. Harris (2004, p.167) suggests that by observing the material outcomes of power and exploring the 'actuality and materiality of the colonial experience' it becomes possible to avoid imposing 'intellectual imperialism' on the experiences of colonialism. Intellectual imperialism would involve drawing conclusions about colonial experiences based on discourse rather than reality (Harris, 2004). The principle causes of colonialism can be assessed and the weight of different agents can be determined in light of actual dispossessions and repossessions of land that took place (Harris, 2004). The actualisation of strategies and tactics used by colonists to dispossess indigenous people can also be examined (Harris, 2004).

Scholars' increasingly emphasise the effectiveness of the study of material realities to determine colonial experiences. Harris (2004, p.165) explains that post-colonial historical scholarship adopted a discourse approach that helped to understand 'what infuses and validates colonialism'. However, it has avoided explaining the 'primary locus of colonial power' (Harris, 2004, p.165). Through observing the establishment of British Columbian reserves in Canada, Harris (2004, p. 179) demonstrates that the ability of colonialism to dispossess rested 'primarily on physical power and supporting state infrastructure'. Ballantyne (2010, p.19) also calls for attentiveness to the 'very real…material and cultural outcomes' of colonial empire building. Similarly, Salesa (2011) recognises the

importance of place in structuring the 'racial crossings' that occurred within colonial encounters, reinforcing the importance of examining material realities.

3.4.1 Material Realities of Space and Place

Environmental and planning histories offer avenues to observe material realities, particularly in maritime contexts. O'Hara (2009) has noted four key themes around which the renaissance of global maritime study could be organised; recognition of national and international trade networks, regionalism, histories of labour and difference and environmental histories. O'Hara (2009, p.1125) implies that the third of these themes is capable of revealing outcomes of power relations because it gestures towards the revelation of difference, the hidden histories of subordinated 'others'. O'Hara's (2009) fourth theme of environmental histories concerns the interaction between people and nature. I suggest that the third theme and this fourth theme may best reflect material realities because of their abilities to reveal the dispossession and repossession of land. This fourth theme of environmental histories has the potential to provide an effective understanding of colonial and indigenous experiences at ports.

In order to understand environmental histories, it is possible to draw on the influential three-tiered conception of time developed by Fernand Braudel in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. The first of Braudel's three conceptions- *longue durée* - is especially useful for understanding environmental history. The *longue durèe* can been described as

> a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man [sic] in his relationship to the environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles (Ethington, 2007, p.468).

The focus of the *longue durèe* on a long timeframe enables patterns in the interactions between humans, nature and power relations to be observed. Looking at the past and changes in the environment over a long period of time enables an examination of the 'geographical stretching out of social-relations' that have taken place as a result of increased movements across space. These social relations are associated with time-space compression and the recognition of space as unfixed because they provide recognition of power-geometries and the existence of multiple actors in space and place (Massey, 2005). This enables multiple actors in a given space or place to become visible.

3.4.2 Indigenous People and Material Realities

There is a growing recognition that studies of material realities of colonialism should focus on indigenous resistance. Harris (2004, p. 179) argues that the predominate focus within material post-colonial studies has been on the 'juggernaut' of powers at the sites of colonial dispossession. Harris (2004, p.180) suggests that the focus of material studies should instead be placed on the 'micro-politics of resistance' practiced by indigenous people who made do 'in and around the compartments created by colonialism'.

This focus could help to tell indigenous environmental histories that challenge the predominant perspective of New Zealand's environmental transformation as a linear progression towards a Pākehā 'empire of grasses', recognising the initial and continued existence of indigenous resource management that occurs in spaces where local indigenous groups and colonial authorities interact (Brooking and Pawson, 2010). This would enable local places to be viewed as spaces co-created by 'un-even indigenous and settler capacities', rather than 'imposed products' and as a product of both 'on-going indigenous trajectories as well as new colonial interactions' (Lester and Laidlaw, 2015, p.7 and 9).

In this thesis, I explore the material realities of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff, focussing on their physical histories over an extended period of time. I focus on material histories and Kāi Tahu and colonial relations with the physical environment over an extended time period, in order to gain an understanding of the power relations within material environmental changes. Looking beyond the shaping of material realities by colonial powers to the material realities of indigenous groups enables me to assess the continued resistance of Kāi Tahu to colonial dispossession at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

3.5 Conclusion

In this theoretical discussion, I have presented three key areas of theory that I mobilise and build on in my examination of Kāi Tahu lifeways in Port Chalmers and Bluff. I have explained the understanding of space and place as unfixed that developed during the spatial turn. This understanding draws attention to the multiple actors present in a given space or place at any time. It has the potential to decenter dominant historical narratives and reveal power geometries. I have also explained key theories surrounding the presence of multiple actors at ports and how the presence of multiple actors can be observed over

long periods of time. In addition, I have explored previous research focused on material realities of dispossession within the colonial era and explained the importance of examining indigenous material realities. In chapter 5, 6 and 7, I build on these studies as well as the previously recognised historical backgrounds of the ports discussed in chapter 2, by exploring whether Port Chalmers and Bluff are shared spaces that are shaped by multiple actors and whether Kāi Tahu did resist the development of Pākehā settlement and management through continued attempts to shape material realities at the ports since 1848. This enables an examination of the extent to which Kāi Tahu did shape Port Chalmers and Bluff and assists with revealing the persistence of Kāi Tahu at the ports.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology that I adopted in order to answer the research questions and achieve the research aim to inform planning and investigate the visibility of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. I explain how the aim and scope of the research was determined, discuss the selection of case study sites and the research approach. I discuss why and how forms of primary and secondary research have been conducted. The ethical considerations and limitations that have shaped my research are explained. I emphasise the approach taken in order to appropriately conduct research with Kāi Tahu. Overall, chapter 4 provides a rationale for the adopted research approach and how this effectively enables the research to make the presence of Kāi Tahu visible at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

4.2 Research Approach

This study forms part of a larger research project called 'Between Local and Global: A World History of Bluff' project. The current study is a subset of this wider project, which is a three year study funded by a Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden Fast-Start Research Grant. The project aims to establish whether the large population of Kāi Tahu in Bluff is a result of a Kāi Tahu attempt to avoid or find a place within New Zealand's economy, whether the Kāi Tahu presence in Bluff shaped the evolution of the port and whether the port underwrote or rewrote Kāi Tahu lifeways (Stevens, 2016). The project will achieve these aims through a historical examination of the development of Bluff between 1800 and 2000 (Stevens, 2016). The current study is aligned but also extends the wider projects focus on Bluff, the time period examined and incorporates planning.

As Craggs (2016, p.112) explains, 'a historical perspective can…allow us to think differently about the present day'. I have explained in chapter 2 how Pākehā and planners often only recognise the public profile of Māori that emerged in the 1970s Māori renaissance and deny the continuity of Māori society from primordial times up to this point. Historical analysis can help to ensure that planners look beyond the abstract Māori concepts that were developed and incorporated into planning legislation based on recognition of the existence of Māori from either pre-colonial times or the early 1970s only. Historical analysis has been used in this study for this reason.

I adopted a critical interpretive research paradigm in this study. This paradigm involves focussing on the impact of power relationships on individuals or groups of individuals (Willis and Nilakanta, 2007). In this case, focusing on the impact of power relations on Kāi Tahu in particular enables the colonial power relations to be teased out to highlight how the continuity of Kāi Tahu lifeways have been denied yet persist. The critical interpretive research paradigm assumes that current ideology needs to be critiqued and seeks to expose dominating and oppressive relationships in society (Willis and Nilakanta, 2007). Critical theorists also aim to assist the oppressed with overcoming marginalisation through their research (Willis and Nilakanta, 2007). I have utilised the critical interpretive research paradigm by approaching my research with the aim to assist with empowering Kāi Tahu and planners to overcome Kāi Tahu oppression in resource management. I have also used the critical interpretive research paradigm by aiming to assess the visibility of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

Within this paradigm, I adopt a qualitative, mixed-methods case study research approach. Case study research approaches are known for providing in-depth understandings about places and the processes within them (Marczyk et al., 2008). I adopted a case study approach in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the historic and current processes and relationships taking place between Kāi Tahu, Pākehā, Port Chalmers and Bluff. As noted in the introduction, I focused on ports as case study sites in order to explore how Kāi Tahu have been able to persist at coastal sites such as ports in the colonial era. As indicated in chapter 3, Kāi Tahu are also likely to be present at ports because multiple actors take part in the exchanges and development that occur at ports, which makes ports effective case study sites for exploring the continuity of Kāi Tahu lifeways in specific contexts.

I have used a comparative case study approach, using Port Chalmers and Bluff as two similar but different sites in which Kāi Tahu have persisted. The population of Kāi Tahu at each port differs, as does the broader colonial experience. Yet Kāi Tahu at each place are economically and genealogically connected. The connections mean that similar actors and processes were present at each port, which in turn enables an exploration of the influence that Kāi Tahu were able to have, despite or because of differing colonial authorities. In addition, as illustrated in chapter 2, Port Chalmers and Bluff have very distinct historical and contemporary characteristics. The use of these ports as comparative

case study sites enables me to apply my findings to a diverse range of other ports with similar distinct historical and contemporary characteristics to Port Chalmers and Bluff.

The study focuses on the time period from 1848 to 2016. As noted, 1848 marks the beginning of the post-contact era. The continuation of Kāi Tahu society and planning gained little acknowledgement from this time until the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the incorporation of Māori in the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) because colonial settlement had become well established at Port Chalmers and Bluff (Dacker, 1991). Extending the study to 2016 enables planning in the past to be compared to current planning, exposing whether colonial binaries have persisted in resource management at the ports.

The research design and methods have been selected in order to effectively and accurately provide insight into Kāi Tahu history and the current recognition of Kāi Tahu in planning at the selected port sites. As Raibmon (2005) suggests, there is a need to overcome colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity that do not view Kāi Tahu as present because of the development of dynamic Kāi Tahu lifeways. My research questions ensure that the focus of my research on the presence of Kāi Tahu is maintained by centring the research on the aim to explore the ongoing existence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

According to Flick (2014), qualitative, mixed-methods research approaches provide an in-depth understanding of case study sites. I adopted a qualitative, mixed-methods research approach in order to gain an in-depth understanding of each of the Port Chalmers and Bluff case studies. Using a wide range of methods assists with ensuring that data is reliable by compensating weaknesses of some methods with strengths of others (Sarantankos, 2005). The range of methods adopted are explained in the following section.

4.3 Data Collection

Primary research involved archival research, interviews and observations. Secondary research involved analysis of contemporary planning documents. Collection of this data is detailed in the following section.

4.3.1 Archival Research

Archives are a 'collection of historical documents or records providing information about a place, institution or group of people' (Oxford University Press Dictionary, 2016). Archival research is a common form of research used to understand the past because of the rich historical evidence that archives can provide (Craggs, 2016). The primary archives were located online and at the University of Otago Hocken Library. The documents that I examined included Kāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal reports and evidence, Otago Harbour Board (OHB) and Bluff Harbour Board (BHB) minute books and records and submissions relating to Port Chalmers and Bluff (see Table 4.1). In addition, *Te Ao Hau* magazine articles were accessed through the online database of the National Library of New Zealand and newspaper articles were accessed on the online database Papers Past (see Table 4.1). Biographic information was accessed online through Te Ara- the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. The research was conducted between May and July 2016.

Table 4.1: Archival sources and access locations

Type of Source	Item	Where Accessed
Waitangi Tribunal Report	The Ngāi Tahu Report 1991	Online
Waitangi Tribunal Report	The Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report 1992	Online
Waitangi Tribunal Evidence	Evidence of Tony Walzl on Ngāi Tahu fishing 1840-1908	University of Otago Hocken Library
Waitangi Tribunal Evidence	Supporting papers to the evidence of Tony Walzl'	University of Otago Hocken Library
Waitangi Tribunal Evidence	Evidence of David Armstrong on Ngai Tahu fishing in the twentieth century	University of Otago Hocken Library
Otago Harbour Board Record	Port Chalmers Sixtieth Jubilee pamphlet 1934	University of Otago Hocken Library
Otago Harbour Board Record	Containers at Otago, 1971	University of Otago Hocken Library
Otago Harbour Board Record	Environmental Impact Report, 1975	University of Otago Hocken Library

Otago Harbour Board Record	*Otago Daily Times Special Supplement*, 1982	University of Otago Hocken Library
Bluff Harbour Board Record	Annual Report 1899-1907	University of Otago Hocken Library
Bluff Harbour Board Record	Annual Report 1915	University of Otago Hocken Library
Submission	Statement of Evidence of Edward Ellison on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou	Online
Magazine Article	How to Remain Māori, 1956	*Te Ao Hau*, National Library of New Zealand online
Magazine Article	An Outpost of Māoritanga, 1956	*Te Ao Hau*, National Library of New Zealand online
Magazine Article	Rani Ellison: Māori Crayfish Tycoon	*Te Ao Hau*, National Library of New Zealand online
Newspaper Article	Native Lands Court, 1868	*Otago Daily Times*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Deposition of Mr John Jones, 1870	*Otago Witness*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Local and General, 1902	*Otago Witness*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Native Hostelry, 1902	*Southland Times*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	N.Z. Parliament, 1902	*Otago Witness*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Political Gossip, 1903	*Southland Times*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Koputai Native Reserve, 1910	*Otago Daily Times*, Papers Past
Newspaper Article	Political, 1914	*Southland Times*, Papers Past

Cameron (in: Craggs, 2016) points out that to make the most of archival collections it is important to talk to others who are familiar with the archival collections and researchers who are examining similar topics. In discussion with supervisors, I identified key dates and incidents where Kāi Tahu visibly shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff. In addition, more general reading on the history of Kāi Tahu, Port Chalmers and Bluff assisted with the identification of further archival materials.

The sources that I examined from archival materials were selected based on the extent to which they related to Kāi Tahu engagement with port management and local planning authorities and the extent to which they provided evidence of Kāi Tahu visibility. For example, Kāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal reports and evidence provided valuable information about fishing practices. OHB and BHB minute books and jubilee celebration booklets provided evidence of the engagement of Kāi Tahu with port management and local planning authorities. Newspaper articles and magazine articles obtained from the University of Otago Hocken Library, *Te Ao Hau*, Papers Past and secondary sources provided examples of key moments in which Kāi Tahu were visible at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

Analysis of the archival material was undertaken, bearing in mind the notion that historical sources must be critically analysed because they can be 'fragmentary, partial and power laden' (Craggs, 2016, p.125). For example, the focus of Kāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal reports and evidence on Māori resource loss and injustices under colonial rule, whereas OHB and BHB minute books, jubilee celebration booklets, newspaper articles and magazine articles from the University of Otago Hocken Library and Papers Past portray a specifically Pākehā perspective[5]. Similarly, sources from *Te Ao Hau* portrayed the historical perspectives of Māori because they were created and published by Māori. Through analysis I therefore took into account the contexts and original purpose of these archival sources, rather than viewing the sources at face value as descriptions of past events.

Descriptive analysis involves summarising data and trends to provide overviews of the data and highlight changes over time (Sarantankos, 2005). Craggs (2016) explains that large collections of similar and comparable archival materials lend themselves to descriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis of the trends in archival material related to the past engagement of Kāi Tahu with Port Chalmers and Bluff helped me to determine the ways in which Kāi Tahu shaped the ports overtime. However, a more analytical approach was also required.

[5] Howe (2003) explains that the priorities of Waitangi Tribunal research since the 1980s have led to a resurgence in the investigation of Māori history. Howe (2003) explains that the purpose of this history is to emphasise the cultural and land losses of Māori caused by the failure of governments to live up to promises. This has led to Waitangi Tribunal research gaining a reputation as 'grievance history or sovereignty history' that emphasises Māori losses rather than the diverse cultural encounters that took place between Māori and colonists (Howe, 2003, p. 51).

As Craggs (2016) suggests, more analytical forms of analysis must often be combined with descriptive analysis to draw out themes and narratives from archival materials. Exploratory research is a useful analytical form of research that can help to determine themes and trends that convey messages in data (Sarantankos, 2005). I carried out exploratory research of trends within archival material to determine the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff, to determine local planning authority responses to Kāi Tahu at the ports and to determine the way that Kāi Tahu lifeways have been framed and recognised following the enactment of the RMA. Analysis involved linking key themes and patterns (Sarantankos, 2005). I combined themes found through exploratory archival research and analysis with themes identified through the other forms of research that I carried out in order to answer my research questions.

4.3.2 Interviews

Archival research was complemented by a small number of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews involve setting out questions for interview participants but reformulating these questions and probing as the interview progresses (Sarantankos, 2005). Semi-structured interviews enable a large quantity of information to be obtained and revealed both broader and personal interpretations of events and processes (Aitken and Valentine, 2006). The interviews enabled a richer understanding of historical and contemporary resource management practices in Port Chalmers and Bluff. In addition, interviews provided a personal or professional Kāi Tahu perspective of the role of Kāi Tahu in Port Chalmers and Bluff.

Interview participants were selected based on their expertise in Kāi Tahu resource management and engagement with Port Chalmers and Bluff. A topic guide was developed based on the knowledge of each participant (see Appendix A). Topic guides indicated broad areas for discussion but enabled the conversation to move to different themes and ideas throughout the interview.

Four interviews were conducted in total- two in Otago and two in Southland. Participants and their roles are listed in Table 4.2. Interviews were conducted at Kāi Tahu ki Otākou Ltd (KTKO Ltd), Te Rau Aroha marae and a participant's house in June 2016 and lasted between 20 minutes to 90 minutes. I used a dictaphone to record the interviews in order to ensure that all information was obtained. Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua (elder), Metzger

also sent a letter following the interview to supplement the information that he provided (referred to as 'pers. comm, 2016' in chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Table 4.2: Interview participants

Interview Participant	Roles
Edward Ellison	Member of Te Rūnanga o Otākou, chair of Kāi Tahu ki Otago Limited, past member of the New Zealand Conservation Authority, Otago Conservation Board, Queen Elizabeth the Second National Trust, former Deputy Kaiwhakahaere (director) of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu
Chris Rosenbrock	Manager at Kāi Tahu ki Otago Limited for previous 17 years
Graham (Tiny) Metzger	Member of Awarua Rūnaka, customary pōhā and tītī expert, forming South Port New Zealand Limited employee
Dean Whaanga	Planner at Te Ao Mārama Incorporated

Each participant had differing levels of expertise. For example, for the Otago case study, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Edward Ellison was able to provide a historical perspective that assisted with answering research question one and two. KTKO Ltd manager, Chris Rosenbrock was able to provide a contemporary perspective that largely assisted with answering research question three. For the Bluff case study, Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Graham (Tiny) Metzger was able to provide a historical perspective that assisted with answering research question one and two, whereas Te Ao Mārama Incorporated (TAMI) planner, Dean Whaanga was able to provide a contemporary perspective that largely assisted with answering research question three.

I remained personally and professionally reflexive when conducting these interviews, as suggested by Minichiello and Kottler (2009). This involved avoiding, as far as possible, the imposition of my own biases and perceptions. I did this by following my own interview questions but allowed the informants to speak for themselves with little information provided about my research aims (Minichiello and Kottler, 2009). Maintaining reflexivity was particularly important because my position outside of the communities I was working with raised the risk of misinterpreting or imposing my own assumptions or values in the questions I asked and through interpreting the interview data.

The interviews were transcribed by a research assistant and then coded with the letter from Metzger based on key themes identified in relation to the research questions, theoretical framework and preliminary findings from the archival research. Observations provided the third source of primary data.

4.4 Observations in Places: Museums and Ports

Observations were undertaken at both ports and at nearby museums. Observation of colonial sites and museum objects provides a useful indication of both Kāi Tahu histories and Pākehā histories. As Cooper et al. (2015, p.13) explain, attendance to colonial objects and their stories can enrich our understandings of how Māori and settlers lived and related to each other by 'shedding light on beliefs, social structures, institutions and cultural practices'. Observation of museum objects also illustrates the contemporary visibility of Kāi Tahu at the ports and the current narratives constructed by colonists. The museums observed were the Port Chalmers maritime museum, Otago Museum, Bluff maritime museum and Southland museum.

Key questions were developed from investigation of literature on displays of Māori heritage. Critical literature by McCarthy (2007; 2011; 2013) on professional museum practices in New Zealand provided an especially useful source of information, discussing the use of museums by colonists as sites to establish dominance over Māori. The questions asked to observe the museums and the sites aim to uncover the extent to which maritime history, Kāi Tahu and Kāi Tahu maritime history were and are currently recognised in the museums (see Appendix D). These guidance questions were placed in a table for ease of analysis. Site visits were conducted to the museums and notes were taken on key questions. Photographs of the museum exhibits and ports were also taken to assist with recording observations for analysis. Relevant images are displayed in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

In addition, I carried out an independent site visit to Port Chalmers on June 24 2016. The maritime museum, public library, port and port settlement were observed. A site visit to Bluff was guided by Metzger on June 16 2016. I observed the maritime museum, port, port settlement and Mōtupohue (Bluff hill). Explanations of the sites by Metzger added to my understanding of Kāi Tahu perspectives and engagement with the port. TAMI planner Whaanga additionally invited me to visit Te Rau Aroha marae. Site visits were also directed by key guidance questions and tables compiled into Appendix D.

Observations aided in forming a wider understanding of the case study sites. Discussions with local residents and Kāi Tahu on site visits also provided a broader understanding of the sites. As with the interviews, observations were analysed based on their alignment with key themes and were then incorporated into the wider analysis of data.

4.5 Planning Document Analysis

Finally, to gain an understanding of Kāi Tahu engagement in contemporary resource management processes, I examined current local planning authority and iwi management plans (IMP). As with the analytical approach adopted for archival research, I analysed the documents by linking themes and patterns (Sarantankos, 2005). I examined how Kāi Tahu are recognised in the strategic and port sections of the relevant district and regional plans. I observed the incorporation of KTKO Ltd and TAMI management plans into these documents. I also observed notes on the management of the ports in KTKO Ltd and TAMI management plans. Observations from this examination were incorporated into my analysis of relevant research questions. This analysis primarily informed research question three because of its relation to planning and resource management carried out following the enactment of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA).

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for the research was gained from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, ensuring that the research fulfils University of Otago ethics requirements. In addition, the University of Otago Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee approved the project. Interview participants were provided with an electronic or hard copy form of an information sheet outlining the interview process (Appendix B). The consent of participants was gained prior to interviews, using the attached consent form (Appendix C). Personal anonymity was available if desired, although all interview participants were willing to be identified. Interview participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the interview at any stage.

Smith (2012) explains that Western research can bring to bear structures of power and differing sets of values onto indigenous people. In addition, Craggs (2016) explains that it is important to consider your own role, relationship, subjectivities and values in relation to the construction of history, recognising that we contribute our own layers of meaning to documents that we encounter. As a Pākehā scholar, I remained particularly aware of the need to minimise the extent to which my research transposed Western perspectives and structures of power onto the Māori communities that I worked with.

I adopted a post-colonial perspective, which understands the ‘complicated process of establishing an identity that is both different from, yet influenced by, the colonist who

has left' (Parsons and Harding, 2011). I adopted this perspective by recognising the dynamic lifeways of Kāi Tahu that developed as a result of interaction with colonists rather than viewing Kāi Tahu lifeways as static, as suggested by Raibmon (2005). In addition, my research and engagement with Kāi Tahu has been guided by Dr. Stevens, a Kāi Tahu scholar who is from Awarua Rūnaka. This guidance has helped to ensure as far as possible that I have not imposed Western understandings on to my research by helping to align my research methods and assumptions with Kāi Tahu values and experiences.

I remained aware of my own bias and positionality as an outsider of the communities of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka when conducting and analysing interviews and site visits. I grew up close to Port Chalmers, so I had some understanding of the Port Chalmers community. My background in Māori studies and engagement with marae through youth groups also provided some understanding of tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori. This helped to ensure that engagement with these communities was carried out respectfully and with an understanding of their perspectives. Conclusions were drawn from my own perspective but with respect for the differing perceptions and interests of key informants from these areas (Minichiello and Kottler, 2009). This awareness of my own perspective and the perspectives of others aided with minimising potential bias with data collection and analysis.

My lack of familiarity with key informants and data may hinder the ability for information to be drawn accurately. As early researcher of Kāi Tahu history Beattie (1994) found, the confidence of Māori elders had to be gained through patience and persistence before information was accurately and willingly passed on. I gained insights from Dr. Stevens' and the connections that he had established through his own research to help to overcome this limitation. Use of interviews to supplement previously gathered archival data and planning documents has also helped to ensure the comprehensiveness and accuracy of information because interviews are reaffirmed by findings from other sources (Sarantankos, 2005).

4.7 Limitations

The examination of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka provides only a 'slice out of a wider story' of Kāi Tahu visibility and participation in planning (Dacker, 1994, p.1). Kāi Tahu whānui occupied most of the South Island and did not define their rohe (boundaries) by the historic or contemporary provincial boundaries that were identified

by colonists (Dacker, 1994, p.1). Despite this, it is hoped that the research provides a rich understanding of the presence and visibility of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff from 1848 through to contemporary times. It is also hoped that the research provides some indication of the wider story of Kāi Tahu engagement with Pākehā and other ports by revealing trends that can be applied to these cross-cultural relationships.

A key challenge faced in this research project was the cross-disciplinary nature of the research. The research fused historical study with social geography and planning theories and practices. The fusion of these different disciplines required careful consideration. The combination meant that the disciplinary practices of history, social geography and planning had to be negotiated in the research so that the three could fit together. The combination of the three disciplines is valuable because it can provide critical insights with the potential to reveal the forgotten Kāi Tahu pasts at Port Chalmers and Bluff, and simultaneously inform future planning practices.

The aspects of the thesis that would align with each discipline had to be defined. The historic recognition of the ports, Kāi Tahu and Māori planning was reviewed in chapter 2 and social geography theories relevant to space, place and indigenous people were examined in chapter 3, in order to position the study within these disciplines. The previous context of the ports was considered and social geography theories were applied in chapters 5, 6 and 7, in order to assess the relevance of the research data in light of the three disciplines that it draws on and informs.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research approach adopted to reveal the persistence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. The research approach is intended to address the research aim and research questions by providing insight into the extent to which Kāi Tahu have shaped the ports, the responses of local planning authorities and the complexities of Kāi Tahu planning under the RMA. I have explained my use of archival research, interviews with Port Chalmers and Bluff Kāi Tahu and site observations to reveal the historic role and experiences of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. The use of past planning documents to determine local planning authority responses to Kāi Tahu has been indicated. I have emphasised how I have adopted research approaches to limit the extent to which I have imposed preconceived Western notions on my research and draw out the role of Kāi Tahu, rather than Pākehā, at the ports. The findings drawn from

analysis of the research are presented and discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7, each respectively addressing the research questions.

Chapter 5: The Extent to which Kāi Tahu Lifeways Shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff

5.1: Introduction

In this chapter, I address research question one: to what extent have Kāi Tahu lifeways shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1848? This chapter has three sections. In the first section, I explain the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped the ports prior to 1848. In the second section, I draw on archival research and interviews to discuss this since 1848 in relation to requests for Native Reserves, Native Hostels and customary kaimoana (seafood) practices. I discuss how the struggles that Kāi Tahu faced in becoming visible through these means illustrate that Kāi Tahu were only able to shape the ports to a limited extent, due to the continued dominance of Pākehā in power geometries and port spaces.

In the third section, I address the need to look beyond colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity, in order to recognise the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff. I argue that it becomes evident that Kāi Tahu have determined the development of the ports to a certain extent if it is acknowledged that Kāi Tahu persisted through dynamically evolved lifeways. I discuss the adaption of Kāi Tahu customary kaimoana practices. I focus on the establishment of Otākou Fisheries Limited (OF). The persistence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff is revealed through this discussion.

I use the visibility of Kāi Tahu and the spaces that Kāi Tahu maintained at the ports to indicate the extent to which the ports were shaped by Kāi Tahu. I adopt Harris' (2004, p.180) suggestion that indigenous people used 'compartments' within colonialism to resist the establishment of colonial power. I begin by explaining how Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff prior to the establishment of Pākehā settlement in 1848.

5.2 Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff pre 1848

As past histories suggest, Port Chalmers was easily accessible to Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in the primordial era, prior to the arrival of settlers. Kāi Tahu ki Otākou kaumātua, Ellison (2011) explains that his tūpuna (ancestors) had a settlement centred on the Otago Peninsula and a fortified pā at Taiaroa Head. Port Chalmers was used as a landing site to travel to the nearby hills and gather resources because of the close proximity of Port Chalmers to the Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou settlement (interview with Ellison). Figure 1.3 and

2.6 (see chapters 1 and 2) illustrate the close proximity of the Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou settlement to Port Chalmers.

The naming and use of Port Chalmers for mahika kai provides evidence of the presence of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou there. Port Chalmers was named Koputai because of 'a story when some people landed there on their canoe once and pulled their canoe up, they hadn't paid attention to the fact that the tide was still coming in and it…came in and lifted the canoe off the beach and it floated away' (interview with Ellison). Port Chalmers was used for mahika kai (food gathering) because it connected to key mahika kai trails going north and south (interview with Ellison).

As I explained in chapter 2, Awarua Rūnaka also lived close to Bluff in scattered settlements throughout southern New Zealand, which expanded when Kāi Tahu populations moved south in the early 1840s (Haines, 2003). The naming of Bluff Harbour as Awarua (two channels) and the naming of nearby Tiwai Point after a Māori kaumātua (elder) called Te Waewae provides evidence that Awarua Rūnaka shaped Bluff in the primordial era (interview with Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Metzger; Beattie, 2001).

However, settlements expanded as settlers arrived. The New Zealand Company first laid out plans for Dunedin following the Ōtākou land purchase in 1844, as explained in chapter 2 (West, 2009). John Turnbull Thompson established settlement plans for Bluff in 1856 (Hall-Jones, 1956). Provincial councils and Harbour Boards controlled the development of each of the ports and were required to prepare district plans by the Town-Planning Act 1926 (Miller, 2015). Settlements swiftly expanded as a result of these formalised authorities and plans (Ballantyne, 2010). Kāi Tahu then had to attempt to maintain their presence in Port Chalmers and Bluff through establishing 'compartments within colonialism' as the settlements expanded (Harris, 2004, p.180). In the following section, I challenge previous historical narratives, discussing how Kāi Tahu rose to this challenge.

5.3 Kāi Tahu Attempts to Shape Port Chalmers and Bluff from 1848-2016

In the following five subsections, I discuss the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848-2016 in relation to claims for Native Reserves, Native Hostels and through the continuation of customary kaimoana practices. I compare claims for Native Reserves and Native Hostels at each port. I then discuss Kāi Tahu kaimoana practices at both ports. Overall, I challenge previous port narratives by illustrating how Kāi Tahu claimed some space at the ports. However, it becomes evident

that Pākehā maintained a position as dominant actors in power geometries through the expansion of colonial settlement.

5.3.1 The Koputai Native Reserve

I begin by discussing the attempt made by Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers through claims for the Koputai (Port Chalmers) Native Reserve. I explain how this illustrates how Pākehā attained dominance in power geometries at Port Chalmers. I explain how Kāi Tahu gained some visibility through making continued claims for the reserve but how the failure to attain it illustrates the struggle that Kāi Tahu faced to shape the port and retain material space as colonial settlement expanded.

Kāi Tahu believed that they would obtain a reserve at Port Chalmers when they sold land to settlers in 1844. In chapter 2, I explained how when the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase was carried out Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou requested two small Native Reserves for boat landings in Dunedin and one Native Reserve in Port Chalmers, which was called the Koputai Native Reserve. Pākehā agreed to grant the Dunedin and Port Chalmers Native Reserves but omitted them from the land deed.

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou persisted with making claims for these Native Reserves. When the Otago Commissioner of Crown Lands, Walter Baldock Mantell, arrived in Dunedin in November 1851, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou made ‘constant requests’ to him for the small pieces of land in Dunedin and Port Chalmers that they had asked for in the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase (Dacker, 1994, p.32). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou wanted the Dunedin and Port Chalmers Native Reserves to build houses on and to provide them with access to the harbour (interview with KTKO Ltd manager, Rosenbrock).

The Koputai Native Reserve at Port Chalmers was eventually granted. The requests that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou made for the Dunedin and Port Chalmers Native Reserves in 1851 were particularly urgent because Kāi Tahu had been evicted from a trading and landing site near Princes Street, following early settler’s fears over haka being carried out by Kāi Tahu. The haka caused distress to settlers because they were interpreted as ‘war dances’ and settlers were afraid of conflict occurring (interview with Ellison; Dacker, 1994, p.32; Figure 2). Otago Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mantell, successfully gained the

approval of Governor Grey to grant the Dunedin and Port Chalmers Native Reserves in 1853 (West, 2009)[6].

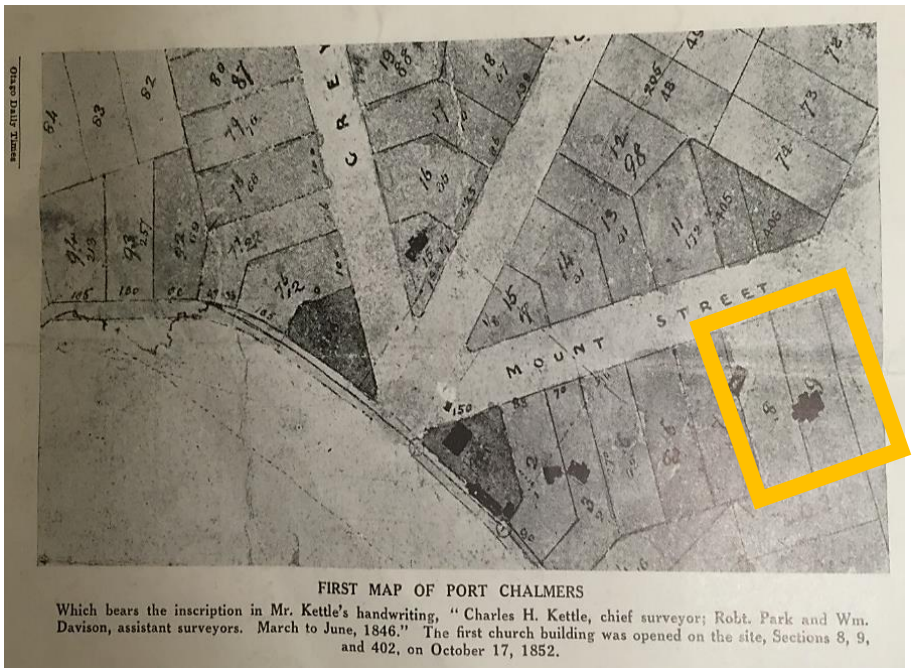
The Koputai Native Reserve offered the potential to provide Kāi Tahu with a key 'compartment' within the settlement that was expanding at Port Chalmers as settlers arrived, reserving exclusive Kāi Tahu space within the settlement (Harris, 2004, p.18). Harris (2004) explains that 'compartments' like these provided indigenous people with a way to resist colonial expansion, which was primarily carried out through the claims to physical sites made by governing colonial authorities. However, the reserve was still not constituted, limiting Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou to the small space that they had been left with on the Otago Peninsula (West, 2009).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou then became visible in a claim for the Koputai Native Reserve in the Native Lands Court in 1868, when the Port Chalmers settlement had swiftly developed as a result of the arrival of settlers in the 1860s gold-rushes (West, 2009; *Otago Daily Times*, 1868). A lawyer named Mr. Macassey acted as a representative for the Koputai Native Reserve claim in a sitting of the Native Land Court that was held at Port Chalmers (*Otago Daily Times*, 1868). Mr. Macassey and Mantell supported Kāi Tahu claims for the Koputai Native Reserve, both providing evidence that the Koputai Native Reserve had been planned in Sections 401, 402, 403 and 404 of Port Chalmers (*Otago Daily Times*, 1868; Figure 5.1).

However, the contestation of claims made by Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou for the Koputai Native Reserve ultimately reinforced the superiority of Pākehā in power geometries by asserting the right of Pākehā to the site (Massey, 2010). Claims were met with scepticism in the 1868 Native Land Court case. An early settler named Haggit raised questions about the legality of the way that the Koputai Native Reserve had been made. The reserve had been made on 'waste-lands', which the Native Land Court considered to be all land not cultivated by Māori (McAloon, 2016). Haggit challenged the power of the Governor to regulate the sale of waste lands at the time that the Koputai Native Reserve was granted in 1853. He further claimed that the Governor had lost the power to regulate waste lands

[6] Grey was appointed as the governor of New Zealand in 1845. Grey was the third governor of New Zealand. Grey oversaw a large amount of land purchasing. Grey departed New Zealand to become governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner of South Africa in late 1853, but returned to New Zealand in 1860 (Sinclair, 2013).

in the Constitution Act 1852, reasserting the right of Pākehā to the space (*Otago Daily Times*, 1868).



FIRST MAP OF PORT CHALMERS

Which bears the inscription in Mr. Kettle's handwriting, "Charles H. Kettle, chief surveyor; Robt. Park and Wm. Davison, assistant surveyors. March to June, 1846." The first church building was opened on the site, Sections 8, 9, and 402, on October 17, 1852.

Figure 5.1: Map of Port Chalmers showing the location of the disputed Koputai Native Reserve on Sections 401, 402, 403 and 404. The caption notes that the First Church building was opened on Section 8, 9 and 402 in 1852 (Jubilee of Otago Harbour Board 1874-1924, 1925; highlighted).

A Presbyterian Church eventually claimed section 402 in the 1868 Native Land Court case and sections 401, 403 and 404 were issued to Kāi Tahu chiefs Horomona Pohio, Hoani Wetere Korako, Hori Kerei Taiaroa and Hone Topi Patuki (Taylor, 1952). Despite this, the Koputai Native Reserve was not used as it was near to a cliff, so 'not in a useful place' for Kāi Tahu who wanted to use it as landing site for boats (interview with Ellison).

Colonial buildings soon occupied the site, so the claim for the Koputai Native Reserve was unsuccessfully continued by Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou later in the post-contact era in 1910. In Parliament, Southern Māori MP Tame Parata requested a report by the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court in regard to ownership of the Koputai Native Reserve (*Otago Daily Times*, 1910). The claim for the Reserve was then also unsuccessfully put before the Waitangi Tribunal by Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in 1987 (interview with Ellison).

In an interview, Ellison provided evidence of the enduring nature of the struggle for the reserve, stating 'prior to [the 1987 Waitangi Tribunal Claim] my father took the case, my grandfather was involved, it went on for generations, for generations they kept going to

Wellington to try and get this matter settled'. The prominent Presbyterian Church now occupies most of the site. The site that the Presbyterian Church occupies today is shown in Figure 5.2.

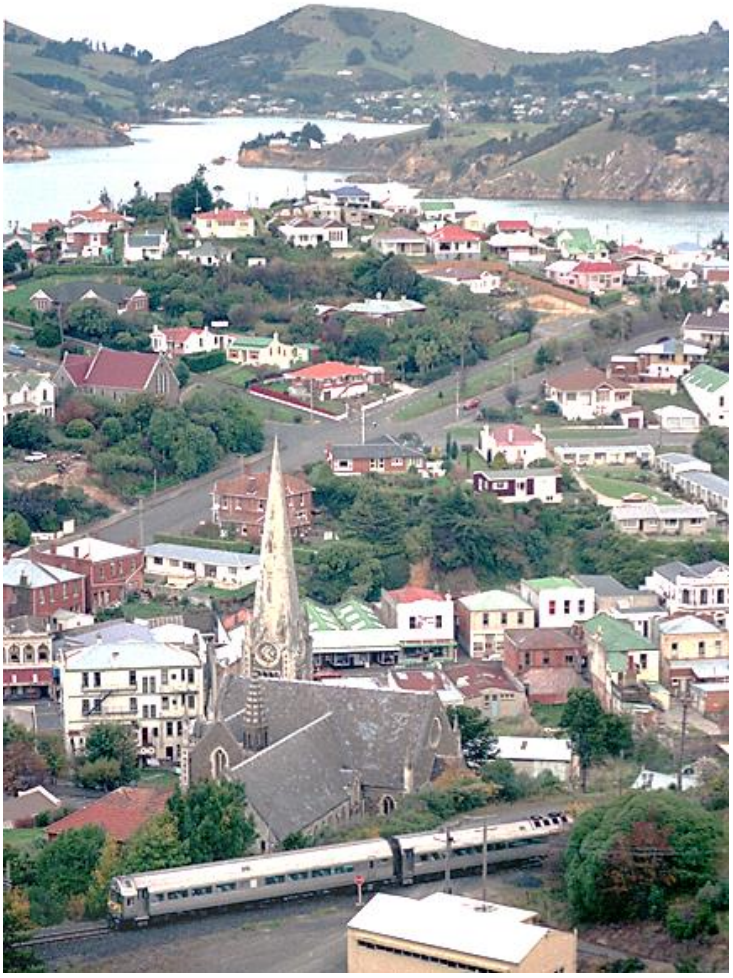


Figure 5.2: Location of the Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church on the site near the Koputai Native Reserve (ancestry.com, 2016).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou gained some visibility at Port Chalmers through making persistent claims to the Koputai Native Reserve that they were promised. Despite this, the scepticism with which claims for the reserve were met and the failure to grant the reserve reinforced the superiority of Pākehā within power geometries and ensured that Pākehā maintained dominance over Kāi Tahu through claims to material spaces at Port Chalmers (Harris, 2004; Massey, 2010). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou were present at the port but only able to shape the port to a limited extent. I next discuss how attempts to attain fisheries reserves also illustrate the presence of Kāi Tahu but that Pākehā have maintained dominance in power geometries and material space at Bluff.

5.3.2 Bluff Fisheries Reserve

Between 1868 and 1996 there were four Māori electorates with seats reserved in Parliament; Eastern Māori, Northern Māori, Southern Māori and Western Māori. Tame Haereroa Parata was Kāi Tahu and became the Southern Māori member of the House of Representatives in 1885. Parata's career was dominated by attempts to reclaim Kāi Tahu space, through redressing Kāi Tahu land grievances that resulted from the poverty caused by the lack of promised reserves set aside following land purchases (Broughton and Ellison, 2012).

Tame Parata attempted to gain fisheries reserves for traditional fishing grounds near Bluff, in Parliament when the Sea Fisheries Amendment Act 1903 was passed (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Parata requested that a certain distance of miles be reserved as fishing grounds for Kāi Tahu from Ruapuke, Stewart Island and Bluff. Parata believed that making a fisheries reserve would uphold Treaty of Waitangi promises for the protection and exclusive possession of resources for Māori, promised in Article 2 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). In Parata's view, Pākehā could also make use of other parts of the sea (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992).

Parata achieved some success in establishing the fishing reserve and claiming Kāi Tahu space. An additional clause (section 14) was added to the Sea Fisheries Amendment Act 1903. The additional clause provided that nothing in the Sea Fisheries Amendment Act 1903 would affect existing Māori fishing rights (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). The recognition of Māori Treaty fishing rights provided by the addition of section 14 to the Sea Fisheries Amendment Act 1903 may have been a result of Parata's request for the fisheries reserve (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992).

However, the reserves that Parata had requested were not explicitly made and exclusive fishing rights were not protected. Unlike in Port Chalmers, the reserve was not provided at all in this case. Kāi Tahu did not gain the space that they had requested to practice customary fishing, leaving Pākehā dominant in power geometries and in the material constitution of the port (Massey, 2010). Therefore, the request for the fishing reserves ultimately demonstrate the limited extent to which Awarua Rūnaka were able to shape Bluff. A similar constraint on the ability of Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff is evident through the requests made by Kāi Tahu for the establishment of Native Hostels at each port.

5.3.3 The Princes Street Native Hostel

The Toitū estuary at Princes Street was a traditional landing place for Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou prior to the arrival of settlers (interview with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou changed from landing there intermittently to landing there regularly when Pākehā established a settlement in Dunedin in 1848, using it as a key site to persist while Pākehā settlement expanded (Taylor, 1952).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou travelled to Princes Street from the Ōtākou settlement on the Otago Peninsula to sell goods such as fish to Pākehā at a nearby market (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Kāi Tahu from the lower South Island also travelled to Dunedin to sell goods at the market (Dacker, 1994). Princes Street is on the upper part of the Otago Harbour, near the city of Dunedin, as shown in Figure 5.3. The Port of Otago extends to this area[7].

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou stayed overnight at Princes Street when they were unable to travel back to the Ōtākou settlement on the Otago Peninsula immediately due to tide or weather conditions (*Otago Witness*, 1902a; West, 2009). Kāi Tahu who travelled from the lower South Island to sell goods at the market also stayed overnight at Princes Street (Dacker, 1994).

Kāi Tahu who stayed at Princes Street overnight lacked proper accommodation. An *Otago Colonist* article described ‘Māori’ huddling under their boats at the Toitū estuary in the snows of winter, 'frequently roused at night by vagabonds and plied with drink’ (*Otago Colonist*, 17 July 1857, p. 4-5, in: West, 2009). Similarly, it was noted that Kāi Tahu staying at the site were reduced to using boats, oars and sails for shelter on the beach at night (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Māori who travelled from Ruapuke to trade at the nearby Princes Street market would turn their boats over and sleep under them if necessary (Dacker, 1994).

[7] I refer to the attempt to establish a hostel at Princes Street as an attempt to shape Port Chalmers because of the extension of Port Otago to this area and its close proximity to Port Chalmers.

Figure 5.3: Location of Princes Street in the city of Dunedin and close to Port Chalmers.

Kāi Tahu persisted with requests for the establishment of a Native Hostel at Princes Street to provide them with accommodation, reclaiming some space at the surroundings of Port Chalmers in doing so. Ellison suggested in an interview that 'it took years and years and years of litigation to get any progress on that'. A note was made by James MacAndrew in the *Otago Colonist* that '[w]e have been asked time and time again by Māori where is the house promised…, [m]onths and years are passing away, and we are always going to do something; let us resolve that ere another year commences we shall have actually done something' (*Otago Colonist*, 1857 in: West, 2009)[8].

After years of lobbying, Kāi Tahu sent a petition with 157 signatures to the Superintendent of the Otago Province, Captain Cargill on 10 September 1857[9]. The petition read:

[8] MacAndrew immigrated to Dunedin in 1851. He was elected to the Otago Provincial Council in 1853 and then elected to the General Assembly in 1854. MacAndrew was the Chairman of the Waste Land Board in 1857 (Olssen, 2013).
[9] Cargill arrived in Dunedin on the *John Wickliffe*. He assisted with the establishment of the Free Church in Dunedin and acted as the Resident Agent for the New Zealand Company in Dunedin. Cargill was

> We, the undersigned Natives of Otago, &c Beg that as your Servants are desirous of trading as much as possible with your White people; But having no place of accommodation in which to shelter ourselves from the inclemency of the weather Your Honour would take this into your most series considerations; and cause to be erected some place of shelter for us out of the moneys set apart for Native purposes (sic) (Walzl, 1991, pg. 20)

The Otago Provincial Government eventually agreed to construct the Princes Street Native Hostel because of the petition and persistent lobbying by Kāi Tahu (Schrader, 2014). In 1858, the Premier, Edward Stafford, and the Native Minister visited Dunedin to inspect beachfront sites on the Princes Street Native Reserve between High Street and Jetty streets with suitable landing places (Schrader, 2014). In 1859, the Crown funded the construction of a two storey stone building on Princes Street (Schrader, 2014). The building was the size of a typical settler cottage, with a communal living and sleeping room, a storehouse, three sets of four tiered bunks, a fireplace to cook on, a table and two benches (Schrader, 2014).

I explained in chapter 2 that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou largely retained land 'on the margins of society' on the tip of the Otago Peninsula following the 1844 Ōtākou land sale (Dacker, 1994, p.1). Through the establishment of Princess Street Native Hostel, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou gained space that was near the city of Dunedin rather than on the coast (Dacker, 1994, p.1).

Additionally, the Princes Street Native Hostel became a popular place for Kāi Tahu to stay to sell fish at the Princes Street market (interview with Ellison; Schrader, 2014). The frequent use of this more central site by Kāi Tahu increased the numerical presence of Kāi Tahu and meant that the site continued to provide a key space for Kāi Tahu to persist within the expanding Pākehā settlement in Dunedin (Harris, 2004, p.180).

The overnight accommodation provided by the Princes Street Native Hostel reduced the cost of selling fish in Dunedin markets (West, 2009). As Ellison stated in an interview, the desire for the hostel was 'really about trade opportunities'. More Kāi Tahu were able to participate in the Pākehā economy that was swiftly being established in Dunedin (Ballantyne, 2011). This increased the presence of Kāi Tahu in commercial exchanges,

eventually appointed as Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Otago Block. He was then elected as Superintendent of the province on September 6 1853. Cargill also acted informally as a provincial representative in the House of Representatives, safeguarding Otago's interests in the General Assembly (McLintock, 1966).

strengthening the ability of Kāi Tahu to resist colonial economic and political dominance (Harris, 2004).

However, the visible presence that Kāi Tahu had gained at the site away from coastal land and the exclusive space that Kāi Tahu had gained was soon lost. The Princes Street Native Hostel was demolished by the central government in 1865, only six years after its construction (West, 2009). It was buried by earthworks that took place to construct new buildings during the gold-rush in Dunedin (West, 2009). The Princes Street Native Hostel was not re-erected following its demolition (West, 2009). The site is now occupied by buildings that reflect the colonial era, particularly the nearby prominent exchange building and customhouse buildings constructed in 1863, just prior to the demolition of the Princes Street Native Hostel (Figure 5.4).

The Princes Street Native Hostel had been built on a Princes Street Native Reserve. The Princes Street Native Reserve suffered a similar fate to the Princes Street Native Hostel. In 1861, the Otago Provincial Government wanted to use the site of the Princes Street Native Reserve to widen Princes Street for harbour improvements. On 11 January 1866, Governor Grey mistakenly issued a Crown Grant for ownership of the land to Captain Cargill, the Superintendent of Otago (Taylor, 1952). A motion by Kāi Tahu to test the legality of this grant was defeated by supporters of the Otago Provincial Government (Taylor, 1952). After gaining support from the Court of Appeal, Kāi Tahu moved to place the case in front of the Privy Council, but were paid to stop in 1872 (Taylor, 1952). Much later, in 1952, the Princes Street Native Reserve had been 'forgotten except by the Māoris who still consider themselves wronged' (Taylor, 1952, p.137). Kāi Tahu had not been able to maintain the 'compartment within colonialism' that they had carved out through the establishment of the Princes Street Native Reserve (Harris, 2004, p.180).

Figure 5.4: Early 1920's Exchange Square (Moore, n. d.).

Visibility gained by Kāi Tahu through the Princes Street Native Hostel challenges previous historical narratives that have focussed on the disappearance of Kāi Tahu, illustrating how the ports and their surroundings were 'the product of a multiplicity of cross-cutting social relations', shaped by both Pākehā and Kāi Tahu to some extent (Driver and Samuel, 1995, in: Withers, 2009, p.648). However, the swift destruction of the Princes Street Native Hostel following years of lobbying by Kāi Tahu ultimately demonstrates the limited extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape Port Chalmers and retain their own spaces from which the dominance of colonists could be challenged as colonial settlement expanded (Harris, 2004, p.180). The Bluff Native Hostel discussed in the following subsection illustrates the similar challenge that Kāi Tahu faced to shape Bluff.

5.3.4 The Bluff Native Hostel

Kāi Tahu from around the South Island travelled to Bluff to take part in mutton-birding (Dacker, 1991). A Native Hostel was established on the foreshore in Bluff in 1883 to provide accommodation for these Kāi Tahu when they stayed in Bluff before travelling to the Tītī Islands (Taylor, 1952; West, 2009). The original Native Hostel is shown in Figure 5.5.

Awarua Rūnaka requested that the Native Hostel in Bluff was replaced in 1902 (Taylor, 1952). In September 1902, Southern Māori M.P. Tame Parata asked the Native Minister whether the Government had decided to proceed with the improvement of the Bluff Native Hostel, 'for the use of the Natives resident at Stewart Island, Ruapuke and other kaingas in the province of Southland' (sic) (*Otago Witness*, 1902). Native Minister, James Carroll responded that the Government had 'decided to erect the hostelry forthwith' and assured Parata that tenders would soon be called for (*Otago Witness*, 1902)[10]. On 10 December 1902, the *Otago Witness* (1902a) reported that tenders would be called for in the next few days. The *Southland Times* (1902) reported that the Otago Provincial Government intended to complete the building promptly, within four months.

[10] Carroll was born in Hawkes Bay and had bicultural upbringing, with an Irish father and Māori mother. He was appointed Native Minister in March 1892 (Ward, 2013).

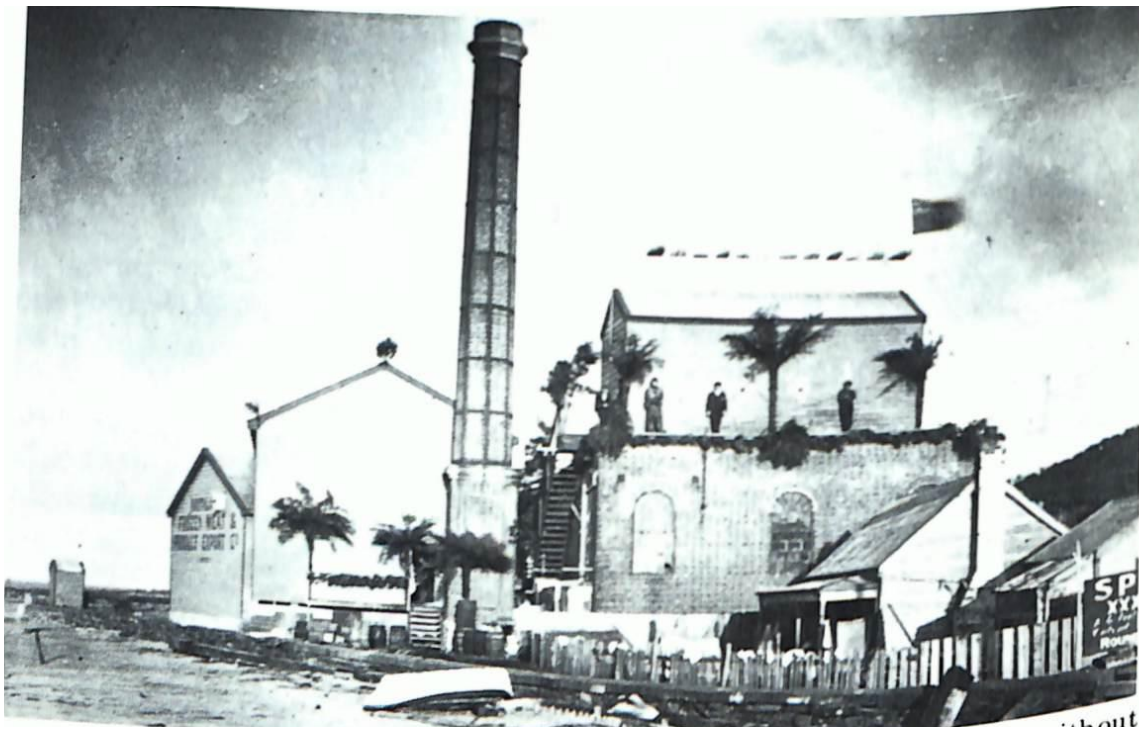


Figure 5.5: Image of Bluff Native Hostel. The Bluff Native Hostel is the small cottage directly behind the fence. The building behind the Bluff Native Hostel was built for Southland's first freezing works, in 1885. This building is decorated with flags and ferns for the Boer war (Lind, 1981, p.32).

The 1902 improvement of the Native Hostel was carried out with the intention to provide Kāi Tahu with better quality accommodation at Bluff. On 13 December 1902, the *Southland Times* reported that 'the want of proper and sufficient accommodation has been seen as one of the most serious drawbacks to the success of the present hostel' but that 'with a better idea of requirements, sanitary and otherwise, applied to the new house, there should be no cause for complaint in the future'. The new Bluff Native Hostel was intended to make ample provision for both male and female dormitories and have bedrooms, a kitchen and a large living room, as well as necessary outhouses (*Southland Times*, 1902). The Bluff Native Hostel was also going to be located at a 'convenient' site half a mile from the railway station (*Southland Times*, 1902). A cottage was eventually built in the township.

Similar to the Princes Street Native Hostel, the Bluff Native Hostel provided Kāi Tahu with a 'compartment' within the expanding Bluff settlement (Harris, 2004, p.180). As I

explained, the rebuilt Bluff Native Hostel offered improved accommodation for southern Kāi Tahu who travelled to Bluff to take part in mutton-birding (Taylor, 1952).

The improved accommodation encouraged Kāi Tahu to participate in mutton-birding. Tītī were traded as part of the colonial economy (Dacker, 1994). The encouragement that the Bluff Native Hostel provided for Kāi Tahu to take part in mutton-birding therefore also increased the presence of Kāi Tahu in economic exchanges, which were key to cross-cultural interactions and the establishment of Pākehā authority at ports (Gilliland, 2004).

The Bluff Native Hostel also increased the ability of Kāi Tahu to shape Bluff through political agency by providing a space for Kāi Tahu to express and build political consciousness. This is demonstrated by an incident in October 1914. Mr A. Rore of Blenheim was contesting the seat of Southern Māori M.P. Taare Parata. Rore visited Bluff and 'addressed the local Natives in the Māori house', where he was faced with an attentive audience and a good reception (*Southland Times*, 1914)[11]. The Bluff Native Hostel acted as a site for the development of Kāi Tahu political agency in this case by providing space for the expression and consideration of political thought.

The author of the article How to Remain Māori (1956) also reports the use of Bluff Māori community buildings for physical culture courses that could teach young people how to act as leaders. Similarly, the Bluff Native Hostel could help to build the skills for successful political engagement. These leadership skills may have further maintained the ability of Kāi Tahu to shape Bluff through political agency in the wake of increased colonial development by providing Kāi Tahu with skills necessary to engage with and become leaders in the political processes through which the ports were shaped and controlled.

The Bluff Native Hostel could also increase the potential for Kāi Tahu political agency in cross-cultural engagement by offering a place for Pākehā and Kāi Tahu to meet on Kāi Tahu terms. Rikihana (1956, p.10) provides the example of this occurring in a similar way at the Bluff marae (meeting grounds). A meeting took place between Māori and Invercargill representatives to make plans for a combined effort to organise the Centenary of the Southland Province (Rikihana, 1956). As Rikihana (1956, p.10) points out, a Kāi

[11] Taare Parata was born in Puketeraki in 1865 and was the son of Tame Parata. He worked in the Native Land Court and began a business as a land estate agent until succeeding his father as a Member of Parliament for Southern Māori in 1911. He held the seat until his death in 1918 (Scholefield, 1940).

Tahu meeting place could help to promote ‘the spirit of co-operation and understanding between the two races’ and could provide ‘a sense of belonging to something, a quiet pride in something that is Māori yet something they can call their own’ (Rikihana, 1956, p.10). It was for this reason that Rikihana (1956) viewed a Māori meeting place such as the Bluff Native Hostel as essential to Bluff.

Unlike the Princes Street Native Hostel, the Bluff Native Hostel provided Kāi Tahu with an ongoing physical presence and exclusive space at Bluff. The Bluff Native Hostel still stands and Te Rau Aroha Marae is on the same site as it. Whaanga suggested in an interview that along with Māori signage on Mōtupohue (Bluff hill), Te Rau Aroha Marae is a key visible physical site for Kāi Tahu in Bluff. The marae is shown in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Te Rau Aroha marae in Bluff. The marae remains close to the site of the Bluff Native Hostel, demonstrating the visibility that Awarua Rūnaka have been able to gain (Walters et al., 2014, p. 169).

However, Pākehā were unwilling to support the maintenance of the Bluff Native Hostel, largely leaving Awarua Rūnaka with responsibility for its up-keep. In 1903, Parata asked Native Minister, James Carroll to 'do something in the way of draining and improving the section at the Bluff on which the Native hostelry stands' (*Southland Times*, 1903). Carroll reported that the Government had intended to spend 250 pounds on improving the section but that 500 pounds had been incurred, and so suggested that 'the Natives should do something for themselves' (*Southland Times*, 1903). Carroll suggested that Awarua Rūnaka should either complete the work themselves or take up a collection (*Southland Times*, 1903).

Similarly, it was reported that Māori were planning their own extension of the community building in Bluff later in 1952 (Rikihana, 1956). They had to raise their own finance for it after receiving little response from 'responsible bodies' who they approached for support for a newer and bigger hall (Rikihana, 1956, p.10). The construction and decoration of Te Rau Aroha marae was also led by Awarua Rūnaka (interview with Whaanga).

Overall, Awarua Rūnaka have been able to shape Bluff to a greater extent than Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou through the Bluff Native Hostel, with the hostel remaining and providing Kāi Tahu with a physical presence today. However, the lack of support provided to Awarua Rūnaka to maintain the Bluff Native Hostel and other Kāi Tahu buildings in Bluff ultimately demonstrates the limited extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape the port and maintain the 'compartment within colonialism' that it provided (Harris, 2004, p.180). This suggests that like at Port Chalmers, Pākehā have been able to maintain dominance within port power geometries in Bluff through dispossession of Kāi Tahu material space (Harris, 2004). The difficulties that Kāi Tahu faced with maintaining customary kaimoana practices further illustrates the struggle of Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff.

5.3.5 Customary Kaimoana Practices

Chapter two explained the importance of mahika kai (food gathering) and kaimoana (seafood) to Kāi Tahu in the primordial era and the maintenance of Kāi Tahu environmental laws and practices throughout the contact and post-contact eras. In the following subsection, I discuss how Kāi Tahu have continued to play a role as some of the multiple actors shaping Port Chalmers and Bluff through these customary kaimoana practices. However, I explain how loss of access to the resources limits the extent to which

Kāi Tahu can shape Port Chalmers and Bluff. I refer to the practices derived from traditional environmental laws and practices as customary kaimoana practices. I discuss Port Chalmers and Bluff practices together because similar actors were involved in each of them, so there is little distinction between them.

Kāi Tahu have continued to gather kaimoana near to Port Chalmers and Bluff from abundant resources in the Otago and Awarua harbours, in order to sustain themselves in the contact and post-contact eras (Dacker, 1994). In an interview, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison noted that the coastal fishing resource was 'rich' and that 'there would have been pāua and mussels in the harbour, crayfish and a lot of wet-fish' which Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou 'were gathering to eat, to survive and sustain their villages' following the arrival of settlers and the establishment of Pākehā settlement in 1848. In other interviews, Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Metzger and a planner from Te Ao Mārama Incorporated (TAMI) Whaanga suggested that estuaries located close to and in Bluff are important food gathering areas for Awarua Rūnaka.

Kāi Tahu became visible to early settlers at Port Chalmers and Bluff through the customary use of kaimoana. Early settler D'urville noted females preparing potatoes, fish and shellfish when he visited an Ōtākou village (Walzl, 1991). According to Ellison (2011), men gathering tuaki (cockles) on sand banks opposite the Ōtākou fisheries near the Ōtākou settlement were also a familiar sight before a gathering was held on Ōtākou marae, as were men spearing flounders on tidal flats with lamplights at night. Early settler Reverend J.F.H. Wohlers also noted that he obtained fish from Awarua Rūnaka at no cost in exchange for sermons at a mission station at Ruapuke (Walzl, 1991; Figure 1.4). Wohlers recalled a flood that left fish in large numbers on the doorsteps of residents and reported that 'people forgot it was Sunday and seized the fish with great jubilation' (Walzl, 1991, p. 6).

Kāi Tahu also had a method of fisheries management that assisted with the retention of kaimoana practices and made Kāi Tahu visible at the ports. Rights to kaimoana were determined by whakapapa (genealogy) (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). This form of management was continued to some extent even when private ownership of fisheries was introduced by regulations in the mid-20th century and when the quota management system was introduced in the Fisheries Amendment Act in 1986 (Grinlinton, 2009). Metzger noted in an interview that Kāi Tahu were issued quota for fish in Waitangi Tribunal

settlements and that a partnership in fisheries management was established between Kāi Tahu and the Crown. According to Metzger, this partnership meant that 'no fish would be touched without [the Crown] coming to the tribe…running it past them and saying 'okay is it alright if we do this?. This represents a partnership in management to some extent.

However, Kāi Tahu suffered a loss of access to kaimoana following the arrival of Pākehā in 1848 and throughout the 20th century. This reduced the visibility that customary kaimoana practices provided to Kāi Tahu. As I have explained in chapter one, fisheries were not immediately privatised like land, due to the lesser degree of colonial interest in coastal resources compared to land resources (Grinlinton, 2009). Despite this, the Crown adopted a predominate view that fisheries belonged to the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). Settlers and Kāi Tahu were required to obtain a specific grant for use of fisheries (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992). This led the Crown to refuse to give effect to the legislative provisions for reservations such as the exclusive Kāi Tahu fishing grounds that were provided for in the South Island between 1900 and 1962 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992).

Requests by Kāi Tahu to have a voice in the management of fisheries and to manage their own fisheries unsupervised were also declined throughout the contact and post-contact eras from the late 19th century, due to the desire of government departments to retain the role of fisheries management for themselves (interview with Metzger; Armstrong, 1991). Disputes broke out where Kāi Tahu believed that they had the right to manage fisheries resources in perpetuity. For example, Kāi Tahu leader Horomona Pohio claimed that Kāi Tahu believed that they would have an exclusive right to eel-weirs beside a Native Reserve near Bluff, while land commissioner Kemp claimed that he had explained that Pākehā may want to share the eel-weirs with Kāi Tahu (Walzl, 1991)[12].

In addition, pollution of coastal resources such as pipi (shellfish) beds and kelp beds in the contact and post-contact eras meant that important coastal resources could often no longer be used for customary purposes (interview with Metzger; Armstrong, 1991). For example, kelp beds at Omaui, a small estuary between Bluff and Invercargill, have been used by Metzger's family for generations to make pōhā (kelp bags) to store tītī (mutton-

[12] Henry Kemp was a land commissioner responsible for surveying land involved for Kāi Tahu purchases (Te Maire Tau, 2015). Horomona Pohio had descent lines to Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe and Waitaha. Pohio was a signatory to the Ōtākou, Canterbury and Murihiku purchase deeds and was involved in the contestation of their boundaries in the 1870s (Te Maire Tau, 2012).

birds) caught on the Tītī Islands annually. Rimurapa (bull kelp) is gathered, split open, cured, rolled and dried before it is wrapped in totara bark to make pōhā (interview with Metzger). Rimurapa from Omaui began to disintegrate when it dried in the 1970s as a result of the pollution of Omaui kelp beds caused by dumping in a nearby estuary. This meant that the customary use of rimurapa from Omaui to make pōhā could not be continued and alternative gathering sites had to be found (interview with Metzger).

The continued customary use and management of kaimoana by Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff suggests that the ports were spaces shaped by the multiple actors present at them, challenging dominant narratives that deny the presence of Kāi Tahu following contact with Pākehā (Massey, 2010). However, as I have illustrated, Kāi Tahu lost significant access and the ability to carry out customary kaimoana practices and management in the contact and post-contact eras. This suggests that Kāi Tahu were only able to shape the ports to a limited extent through customary kaimoana practices and that the ports became increasingly shaped by the desires of colonial actors (Mayer, 1988). Kāi Tahu persisted at the ports but the extent to which they could shape them was limited.

5.3.6 Conclusion

Claims for Native Reserves, Native Hostels and the continuation of customary kaimoana practices were key attempts made by Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 2016. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou gained visibility through claims for the Koputai Native Reserve, while attempts for fisheries reserves by Awarua Rūnaka had some success. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka also gained some visibility through the Princes Street Native Hostel and the Bluff Native Hostel. The Bluff Native Hostel acts as an especially significant space for Awarua Rūnaka because it remains at Bluff. This challenges dominant narratives that overlook the persistence of Kāi Tahu at the ports.

However, attempts to maintain these spaces ultimately illustrate the struggle faced by Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff, proving how Pākehā maintained dominance in power geometries at ports through controlling the material spaces through which authority was determined (Harris, 2004). The limited extent to which Kāi Tahu at both ports were able to continue customary kaimoana lifeways further illustrates the constraint on the ability of Kāi Tahu to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 2016. However, Kāi Tahu did adapt customary kaimoana lifeways to continue to persist at and shape the ports to some extent, as discussed in the following section.

5.4 Looking Beyond Colonial Binaries

I have discussed how Kāi Tahu were able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff to a limited extent through requests for Native Reserves, Native Hostels and customary kaimoana practices from 1848 to 2016. In the following subsections, I illustrate how it is possible to recognise that Kāi Tahu did shape the ports and certain maintain spaces at them despite the struggles that they faced. I adopt Raibmon's (2005) suggestion that indigenous people persisted through lifeways that developed dynamically rather than remained static. I argue that the extent to which Port Chalmers and Bluff were shaped by Kāi Tahu is evident if the continuation of Kāi Tahu presence at the ports through adapted maritime lifeways are acknowledged.

I first explain the evolution of Kāi Tahu maritime lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff. I next explain how Kāi Tahu lifeways were adapted in relation to Pākehā fishing practices. I then explain the visibility that Kāi Tahu gained through these lifeways, using the example of Ōtākou Fisheries Ltd (OF). I use dynamic maritime lifeways as a term to refer to lifeways of Kāi Tahu that changed at the ports, rather than remained static (Raibmon, 2005). The discussion challenges dominant historical narratives that overlook the role of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff, explaining the extent to which Kāi Tahu did shape the ports and reaffirming the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning.

5.4.1: Evolution of Kāi Tahu Lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff

Kāi Tahu and colonial interactions occurred at Port Chalmers and Bluff early in the contact era. Kāi Tahu actively choose to marry sailors and whalers when they arrived in Foveaux Strait in the 1820s (interview with Metzger; Walters et al., 2015). A high ranking Māori woman, Hineraukawakawa, shifted to Foveaux Strait from Christchurch in 1831, to avoid a siege by the northern Māori war-party leader Te Rauparaha (Ellis, 2000)[13]. She married the first settler in Bluff, James Spencer (Ellis, 2000)[14]. Metzger suggested in an interview that the 'mixed Pākehā and Māori values' in his family genealogy are 'typical

[13] Te Rauparaha was the leader of northern tribe Ngati Toa. He is known for his involvement in a number of intertribal wars. In 1831 he hired the brig *Elizabeth* and travelled to Akaroa Harbour with 100 warriors. Several hundred Kāi Tahu were killed on board the ship during a surprise landing. Following a three month siege, Te Rauparaha took the Kāi Tahu pā at Kaiapoi. Conquests further south were prevented by an outbreak of measles and the growing strength of Southern Kāi Tahu through participation in whaling (Oliver, 2012).

[14] Spencer had arrived in Bluff between 1834 and 1835 and established a trading post there (Ellis, 2000).

of how Bluff became populated' and noted that Te Rau Aroha is decorated with women to recognise this lineage.

Kāi Tahu maritime lifeways evolved in response to sustained interactions with Pākehā during the post-contact era that began in 1848. For example, Beattie (1954) reported that in 1919 Kāi Tahu had insufficient pōhā to hold tītī prior to the tītī season. In 1920, Kāi Tahu searched the southern coasts for kelp suitable for pōhā months before the tītī season (Beattie, 1954). Kāi Tahu used forms of housing that reflected the adoption of Pākehā housing structures to hang kelp to dry before it was turned into pōhā. According to Beattie (1954, p.177), 'for weeks before the season you could pick out the Māori residences at the southern ports by the line of kelp bladders in the yard'.

The nature of Kāi Tahu work at ports also evolved following interaction with Pākehā. The Industries and Employment sub-committee's survey of Māori employment in the South Island was reported in a *Te Ao Hau* article called 'How to Remain Māori' (1956). The survey found that both mutton-birding and waterfront work were some of the main means of livelihood for Māori, reporting that waterfront work was the most reliable source of employment at the time (*Te Ao Hau*, 1956).

Kāi Tahu continued traditional forms of work while engaging with Pākehā forms of work. Metzger explained in an interview that Kāi Tahu worked at South Port New Zealand Limited (SPNZL) and would 'get annual leave in April and May to go mutton-birding'. The adoption of Pākehā forms of work illustrates how Kāi Tahu adapted their lifeways by amalgamating Pākehā and customary lifeways, as Raibmon (2005) suggests. Kāi Tahu lifeways were particularly adapted in relation to fishing.

5.4.2: Adaption of Kāi Tahu Fishing Practices

Kāi Tahu had established forms of fishing practices before the arrival of Pākehā. As discussed in chapter 2, Kāi Tahu possessed skills at using and managing kaimoana in the primordial era. Kāi Tahu had a strong knowledge of sustainable fisheries management. Fish populations had to be sustained because fish were relied on as a source of food. For example, Robert Whaitiri of Murihiku recalled his Pōua (grandfather) and Taua (grandmother) talking to him about harvesting a wide range of fish on Whenua Hou, Rakiura and Ruapuke Islands (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992; Figure 1.4). Metzger (pers. comm, 2016) also stated that his grandparents taught him and their other grandchildren

how to harvest fish and manage marine resources sustainably, placing emphasis on the word ‘sustainable’.

Pākehā began their own fisheries enterprises soon after arriving in Otago and Southland. The abundance of seafood was noted by Pākehā when they first arrived in Dunedin and Bluff (Walzl, 1991). For example, French explorer Captain Dumont D’Urville noted that fish was so plentiful that nets would nearly always come in full, on his visit to southern New Zealand on the ships *Astrolabe* and *Zeelee* in 1840. D’Urville noted that the first time net fishing was carried out, so many fish were caught that ‘several hundredweight’ had to be returned to the sea (Walzl, 1991, p.27). An officer on board of the *Zeelee* similarly observed ‘enormous quantities’ of fish being caught when fishing lines were thrown into the sea (Walzl, 1991, p. 27).

Despite favouring land sites and resources over coastal sites and resources, Pākehā raised the possibility of beginning commercial marine and fisheries enterprises because of the large quantities of fish that they discovered (Walzl, 1991; Star, 2003). As noted in chapter 2, whaling and fishing enterprises were established at the Otago Harbour and Port Chalmers in the 1840s (West, 2009). Sea-foods such as oysters and lobsters also became key trade commodities in Bluff since the late 19th century (Hall-Jones, 1976). In an interview, Metzger reaffirmed the establishment of commercial marine and fisheries enterprises by Pākehā in Bluff, explaining how Kāi Tahu struggled to reclaim quota and management of fisheries claimed by the Ministry of Primary Industries in the mid-20th century.

Pākehā believed that Kāi Tahu would play a key role in commercial marine and fishery enterprises because of their skill and interest in maritime resources. In a promotional pamphlet titled ‘Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand’, explorer and surveyor Charles Heaphy noted that ‘the curing of fish’ would ‘no doubt soon become an important and profitable occupation’ and that this would be ‘an employment to which the Natives would industriously apply themselves’ (Walzl, 1991, p. 21). Similarly, when questioned before the New Zealand Committee in 1844, early Otago settler Frederick Earp reported that Māori would ‘readily engage’ with occupations such as fishing due to the perception that Kāi Tahu had expertise in fishing and the belief that Kāi Tahu had a preference for fishing over ‘steady and continuous labour’ (Walzl, 1991, p. 22).

Kāi Tahu did engage with Pākehā commercial fishery enterprises, adapting customary lifeways by doing so while continuing their own forms of fishing practices. *The Illustrated New Zealander* (in: Walzl, 1991a, p.13) reported in 1866 that the key part-time occupation of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou was barracoota fishing, 'with which they suppl(ied) the Dunedin market'. Similarly, Ellison noted in an interview that some chiefs had their own trading vessels and that Kāi Tahu were a 'commercial people'. Ellison stated that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou were 'quick' and that 'before Port Chalmers was even settled they were going to Sydney and very much part of the whaling industry'. According to Ellison, Port Chalmers was a 'hive of activity' and 'that level of activity and the opportunity, there's no way in the world they would not be across there partaking, participating and engaging with that'.

Kāi Tahu skills at commercial fishing developed through engagement with the commercial marine and fisheries enterprises that settlers established. In Otago and Southland, Kāi Tahu were amongst some of the 67 fishermen employed by three fishing companies in 1872, that trawled for fish such as flounder, red cod, mullet, guard fish, trevally and whiting (Walzl, 1991). While appealing for assistance for Māori in gaining maritime qualifications in Parliament in 1936, Eruera Tirikatene also reported that 'a number of young Māori men' were 'well up' on the handling of shipping vessels, taking shipping vessels out while regional commanders were in offices (Armstrong, 1991, p.46[15]). According to the early settler, Beattie (in Armstrong, 1991, p.38), Kāi Tahu 'hardihood in seafaring was a source of admiration to early white men'.

Kāi Tahu were able to establish their own commercial marine and fishery enterprises because of the maritime skills that they possessed and the skills that they gained via participation in colonial commercial marine and fishing enterprises. The popularity of the Princes Street Native Hostel for selling fish that I discussed earlier in this chapter demonstrates how Kāi Tahu were key suppliers of fish to the Dunedin market (West, 2012). Kāi Tahu were also registered as fishermen at Port Chalmers and Bluff. For example, in Waitangi Tribunal evidence, Armstrong (1991) provided a long list of Kāi Tahu fishing vessels registered at the southern ports between 1933 and 1937. Kāi Tahu also operated their own shipping transport, as illustrated by the vignette of Tuhawaiki

[15] Tirikatene was the Southern Māori member of Parliament from 1932 to 1967 (Ballara, 2014).

buying boats to carry people and goods around southern New Zealand presented in chapter 1 (Anderson, 2013).

The previous two sub-sections have established how Kāi Tahu lifeways evolved dynamically through the adoption of maritime and fishing practices that were made possible by experience gained in enterprises established by Pākehā, who observed an abundance of fish in southern New Zealand. I have illustrated how Kāi Tahu maintained skills in fishing developed through customary practices and became well adept at Pākehā fishing practices, gaining an ability to establish their own fishing enterprises and persisting at Port Chalmers and Bluff by doing so. I next explain how Kāi Tahu became visible at the ports through these lifeways, focusing on Ōtākou Fisheries Limited (OF).

5.4.3 Visibility of Kāi Tahu through adapted Fishing Practices

Kāi Tahu became visible through the adapted lifeways expressed in Kāi Tahu fishing enterprises. The establishment of Ōtākou Fisheries Limited (OF) illustrates this. In the following section, I explain how the continuation of both Pākehā and Kāi Tahu lifeways made OF successful and in turn, made Kāi Tahu visible. I then discuss the broader presence of Kāi Tahu through adapted maritime lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff to illustrate how Kāi Tahu have maintained a presence at these ports through evolved lifeways.

OF was established by Raniera Ellison (Rani Ellison) of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in Dunedin in 1946[16]. OF caught, processed and distributed fish. It began as a small business but soon expanded around New Zealand and globally, becoming the first New Zealand firm to export cray-tails to Melbourne in 1947, eventually sending them to the United States of America and possibly becoming ‘the biggest single processor of cray-tails in the world’ (Schwimmer, 1957, p.35). OF also expanded when Rani Ellison bought other companies and made them subsidiary companies to his own (Schwimmer, 1957).

OF was a Pākehā style commercial fisheries enterprise, using Pākehā forms of production. For example, one of Ellison’s first investments in 1946 was in ‘ultramodern freezers’ (Schwimmer, 1957, p.35). The freezers enabled OF to compete with other enterprises in

[16] Rani Ellison was one of the 12 children of northern Māori Raniera Taheke Ellison, who travelled from Wellington to Dunedin in 1862 in search of gold, and his wife, Nani, was the granddaughter of Ōtākou chief Taiaroa (Tipa, 2015). Raniera Taheke Ellison is the grandfather of Edward Ellison, and Raniera Ellison is the uncle of Edward Ellison.

the district and gain more output from fishermen after two years than any other distributor in Otago and Southland (Schwimmer, 1957, p.35). In the early 1950s, factories and freezers were established in Ōtākou, Dunedin and Bluff, as well as Karitane, Taieri, Waikawa and Rakiura (interview with Ellison; Schwimmer, 1957).

Kāi Tahu lifeways were also embedded in OF. OF was an 'extended whānau business' (Tipa, 2015). Rani Ellison established OF with the primary purpose of employing Māori men so that they could work near their homes, in order to prevent them from having to travel (Schwimmer, 1957). Rani Ellison also borrowed capital from other members of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou to establish OF. Family members were provided with the option of working for wages or taking shares in the company (Tipa, 2015). For example, one of the 'best known' Kāi Tahu personalities, Teone Wiwi Taiaroa, was one of the founders and directors of and a Chairman of the Board of Directors before he began fishing around the Otago and Southland coasts for a number of years (Haere ki o Koutou Tīpuna, 1965, p.63). Rani Ellison's brothers Rangi and George also helped to establish and operate OF (Schwimmer, 1957).

Kāi Tahu lifeways were maintained as the business grew. Rani Ellison's relationship with his family and other Kāi Tahu did not change as OF expanded (Schwimmer, 1957). Rani Ellison attended iwi weddings and put off an important business trip to America worth several hundred thousand pounds in order to be present when his baby was born (Schwimmer, 1957). The value of the business was also shared equally. Schwimmer (1957, p.34) reported:

> the small amount originally put into the business by the Ōtākou people has grown to huge assets. The value of all the original shares has been raised as the business grew. Everyone profited equally. (Rani Ellison) feels himself as a trustee and representative of his own people.

Rani Ellison's personality did not become 'infected with the affections and the hunger for money that so often accompanies financial success' (Schwimmer, 1957, p.33). Schwimmer, (1957, p.34) points out that the way that Rani Ellison maintained 'equality and kinship' with 'his people' demonstrates that 'the highest financial success can be achieved without the loss of the qualities the Māori sums up in the word "aroha" (love)'.

The maintenance of Kāi Tahu qualities by Rani Ellison within the Pākehā form of enterprise has been viewed as key to the success of OF. According to Schwimmer (1957, p.33), Rani Ellison produced 'an almost constant plan of brainwaves', standing 'slightly

aloof' from the 'able and systematic executives' employed by the enterprise, 'as the artist who plays with financial combinations, thinks up new ways of processing and selling fish, or the many other products in which he is interested'. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison (in Tipa, 2015) suggests that Rani Ellison's ability to produce the 'brainwaves' that led to these innovations was an expression of Kāi Tahu lifeways. According to Ellison, Rani Ellison inherited the skill was inherited from his father, who had both a Kāi Tahu heritage and an entrepreneurial and business foundation.

Rani Ellison also gained 'rapport and respect' from both Pākehā and Kāi Tahu through the 'Māori qualities' that he maintained in OF. Edward Ellison testifies that much of Rani Ellison's business success was a result of his personality (Tipa, 2015). Ellison believes that this built the business (Tipa, 2015). Schwimmer (1957, p.36) explains that OF's success was a result of 'a matter of honest dealings and good relations' as well as Rani Ellison's efforts to keep up to date on good business methods and ideas by talking to others about what he did not know when he started up (Schwimmer, 1957, p.36).

Kāi Tahu methods of operation furthered the success of the business. As noted in chapter 2, Kāi Tahu leadership traditionally operated with no coordinated or planned single leader but rather 'many histories entangled in the fishnet of whakapapa' (Haines, 2003, p.86). Similarly, OF fisherman were left to purchase and operate their own boats independently, although a large percentage of the cost of the boat was subsidised by OF (Schwimmer, 1957). These methods of operation encouraged Kāi Tahu to participate in the business, further contributing to its success.

The success of the company provided Kāi Tahu with a high degree of visibility at Port Chalmers and Bluff through dynamically evolved Kāi Tahu maritime lifeways. OF boats used Port Chalmers to dock and were serviced at Port Chalmers (interview with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison). Ellison stated:

> at one point OF had up to 50 boats and so that connection to Port Chalmers was everything…that's where fishing boats were built, where they were repaired, where the provisions were loaded on, where they landed their fish, where the freezers were…they landed there all the trucks would come and pick up the fish and do their repairs and just moor their boats overnight or week or whatever if the weather was no good…our families were well-known there and knew everyone there and did business there…over many years. They had oyster boats, they had crayfish boats, they had trawlers… it was a great time and they were very much part of that Port Chalmers communities' economic activity.

As I explained earlier, an OF factory and freezer was also established at Bluff, providing Kāi Tahu visibility there. In addition, the presence of Kāi Tahu through OF is still visible in small ways at Port Chalmers today. I noted a box with one of the business' export products stacked on a top shelf when I visited the Port Chalmers Maritime Museum. The box is shown in Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7: Port Chalmers maritime museum display showing rock lobster export box. The box is likely to have been used by OF, who were responsible for exporting crayfish tails globally from Dunedin. This shows how Kāi Tahu are still visible at Port Chalmers if dynamic lifeways are acknowledged (author's own, 2016).

Kāi Tahu also remained visible through dynamic maritime lifeways at Port Chalmers more widely than through OF. In an interview, Ellison hinted at the continued use of Port Chalmers as a key site for maritime commerce and for Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou to carry out maritime lifeways. According to Ellison, when he was young, he and his family:

> used to live in Port Chalmers, literally on fishing boats, when they were in there for surveying or mechanical repairs or whatever, and they'd be up there and us kids would take any opportunity to be on, to stay on the boat for days, we'd row around Port Chalmers on the dinghies, in those days you could get right in around all the ships, through the wharves, under the wharves.

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou also maintained a visible presence through the use of boats to catch fish. For example, Reverend James Stack recalled whale boats filled with barracoota travelling to Dunedin to sell their catch (Walzl, 1991). Similarly, Ellison (2011, p.9) recalls an annual fishermen's picnic held in the 1950s at Ōtākou marae, where 'you could not count the fishing boats tied up to one another seemingly stretching everywhere', with

'boats, masts, ropes, anchor chains and dinghies'. According to Ellison (2011, p.9), it was 'a big thing to see…the fishing boats that daily plied the main channel to the fishing grounds'. In an interview, Ellison also stated that his father was connected to Port Chalmers because he would frequently travel to it from the Ōtākou marae on the opposite side of the Otago Harbour:

> a mast and a sail in the right wind he would be in there to Port Chalmers in 10 minutes from home… so you can see the accessibility was enormous, in the harbour when the tide was in you didn't have to go up the channel and in a sail boat you could get straight across… the familiarity, the involvement, the connection was huge.

In a similar way, Kāi Tahu have remained visible at Bluff through dynamic maritime lifeways. Metzger noted in a guided visit to the Bluff Maritime Museum how Awarua Rūnaka such as himself had contributed to the construction and operation of Pākehā style boats. These boats can be viewed in the Bluff Maritime Museum, as shown in Figure 5.8. An iwi-owned seafood factory that is currently located on the Bluff waterfront and a prominent Bluff seafood restaurant owned and operated by another Awarua Rūnaka member further demonstrate how Kāi Tahu at Bluff maintained a presence through new forms of maritime commerce that are a result of the dynamic development of maritime lifeways.

Figure 5.8: A Norwegian boat that Metzger repaired, displayed in the Bluff Maritime Museum. The boat provides evidence of the way that Kāi Tahu maintained visibility through dynamic lifeways at Bluff (author's own, 2016).

Kāi Tahu adapted lifeways and fishing practices through interactions with Pākehā at both Port Chalmers and Bluff. Kāi Tahu have been able to shape the ports to some extent through these adapted lifeways, maintaining visibility through them despite limitations imposed by the presence of Pākehā at the ports and the dominance of Pākehā in power geometries and port spaces (Harris, 2004; Massey, 2010). This reveals the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff throughout the contact and post-contact eras, despite suggestions by Pākehā histories that Kāi Tahu only re-emerged in the Waitangi Tribunal Claims made in 1991 (Dacker, 1994, p.1). It challenges dominant narratives by illustrating that Kāi Tahu have been able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff to some extent and have been able to resist colonial dominance through practicing their own 'micro-politics' within established spaces, which were retained at ports as colonial settlement expanded (Harris, 2004).

5.5 Conclusion

I have explored the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff in this chapter. I explained how Kāi Tahu were only able to shape the ports to a limited extent due to authority of Pākehā within power geometries, asserted through the dominance of material space at the ports. I discussed how the failure of Pākehā to grant Native Reserves, and the struggles that Kāi Tahu faced to maintain Native Hostels and customary kaimoana practices illustrate the limited extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to maintain spaces and challenge that establishment of colonial settlement and authority. However, I have illustrated how Kāi Tahu maritime lifeways evolved dynamically through interaction with Pākehā at Port Chalmers and Bluff. Through acknowledging these lifeways it becomes evident that Kāi Tahu did resist colonial dominance and persist at the ports, shaping them to some extent, despite suggestions made by dominant historical narratives. In chapter 6, I examine whether local planning authorities have recognised Kāi Tahu planning and lifeways in the post-contact era between 1848-1991, before questioning the adequacy of the way that Kāi Tahu have been recognised and framed in the Resource Management Act 1991 at Port Chalmers and Bluff. This furthers the research objective to assess the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape the southern ports, focusing on the recognition of Kāi Tahu in planning at them.

Chapter 6: Local Planning Authority Responses to Kāi Tahu Lifeways between 1848 and 1991

I have demonstrated that Kāi Tahu persisted at and shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff through lifeways developed through contact with Pākehā, despite challenges faced following the establishment of Pākehā settlement and dominant historical narratives. In chapter 6, I address research question two: how did local planning authorities respond to Kāi Tahu lifeways between 1848 and 1991? In 1857, Kāi Tahu requested the construction of the Princes Street Native Hostel, as explained in chapter 5. An *Otago Colonist* article noted that the authorities who received the request believed that 'it was high time that something was done to show the native population that they are regarded with more than good-hearted indifference' (Schrader, 2014, p.5). In this chapter, I argue that local planning authorities predominantly responded to Kāi Tahu lifeways with little more than 'good hearted in-difference' between 1848 and 1991 (Schrader, 2014, p.5).

Chapter 6 has three sections. In the first section, I provide an explanation of the dominance of Pākehā planning in New Zealand between 1848 and 1991. In the second section, I discuss examples explained in chapter 5 and drawn from archival research that illustrate how local planning authorities responded to Kāi Tahu lifeways with little more than 'good-hearted in-difference' (Schrader, 2014, p.5). The third section explores how Kāi Tahu environmental management has continued at Port Chalmers and Bluff as an expression of Kāi Tahu lifeways. In this section, I discuss how local planning authorities have provided little response to Kāi Tahu environmental management or failed to recognise the continuation of it (Schrader, 2014, p.5). I illustrate how responses reinforce the superiority of Pākehā in power geometries at Port Chalmers and Bluff, despite the persistence of Kāi Tahu at the ports (Massey, 2010).

6.1 Pākehā Governance of Port Chalmers and Bluff

I have explained in chapter 2 that Pākehā planning and governance authorities became dominant over Kāi Tahu during the development of Port Chalmers and Bluff. Pākehā maintained authority through the establishment of local planning authorities during the contact and post-contact eras. I explain the establishment and expansion of these authorities below, in order to establish why Kāi Tahu had to seek recognition from them.

Six provinces were created in New Zealand in 1853 (Dalziel, 1992). The Otago province contained both Otago and Southland until Southland left in 1861, although Southland then re-joined in 1870 (Dalziel, 1992). Each of the six provinces had a provincial government (McKinnon, 2016). The provincial governments became central forums for local development decisions, immediately taking control of matters such as land administration, road and infrastructure development (Dalziel, 1992). County and borough councils were also established within provinces (Dalziel, 1992). By 1875, there were 63 counties with their own councils for bylaws and the responsibility for subsidizing and carrying out public works (Dalziel, 1992).

The provincial governments were abolished in 1876 (McKinnon, 2016). County and borough councils and smaller local boards continued as local government units (Dalziel, 1992). These proliferated and by 1988 New Zealand had 22 regions with 231 territorial authorities and ad-hoc, single issue boards (Miller, 2011). Local government was reformed in 1988 so that New Zealand had twelve regions with sixty district councils and twelve city councils (Miller, 2011). The structure of local government has remained similar since 1988. New Zealand now has 11 regional councils, 12 city councils, 53 district councils and five unitary authorities (Miller, 2011). Each territorial authority also contains several community boards (Miller, 2011).

As I explained in chapter 2, Harbour Boards had also been established to control port development in 1870. Harbour Boards focused on matters such as expenditure, import and export value, funds and 'improving' harbours through dredging, blasting and the development of infrastructure (see Annual Report, Bluff Harbour Board 1899-1907 and 1915). The Otago Harbour Board (OHB) was created when the Harbour Improvement Ordinance was passed in 1874, (McLean, 2001). The formation of the OHB has been labelled as a 'watershed in the history of the port' because it was the first body solely charged with the administration of the Port of Otago (McLean, 2001, p.67). As noted in chapter 2, the OHB was abolished in 1988 and replaced with Port Otago Limited (POL), the Dunedin City Council (DCC) and the Otago Regional Council (ORC). The Southland Harbour Board (SHB) was also abolished in 1988 and port management was replaced with South Port New Zealand Limited (SPNZL), the Invercargill City Council (ICC) and Environment Southland (ES), ensuring that Pākehā port governance continued.

Māori viewed themselves as interpreters and makers of law rather than as passive receivers of law as colonial governance developed between 1848 and 1991 (Hickford, 2014). Section 71 of the Constitution Act of 1852 had enabled districts where Māori governance could continue to be set apart (Hickford, 2014). Hickford (2014, p.9) explains that these districts helped to maintain visions of Māori autonomy, existing 'within the lexicon of colonial governance as an imagined fragmentary space throughout New Zealand'. Māori also formed initiatives that aimed to protect Māori political autonomy on a national governance level. For example, the Kīngitanga movement was formed in 1858 to protect the political autonomy of Māori by establishing an independent Māori government that would parallel the national colonial government (Papa and Meredith, 2012).

Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff acted as 'interpreters and makers of law', playing a continued role in direct management of the ports between 1848 and 1991 (Hickford, 2014, p.9). In an interview, Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Metzger stated that 'because of the more even mix of Māori and Pākeha in the south all living together, rather than a lot of Pākeha all landing at once …the Bluff Town Council and Bluff Harbour Board were an even mix (of Māori and Pākeha)'. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison also suggested in an interview that he 'knew of a few (Kāi Tahu) who worked with or on the (Otago) Harbour Board', such as his father's great grand-father and his own father after the Second World War.

Despite the participation of Kāi Tahu in port management, the planning authorities were predominately occupied by Pākehā and served Pākehā interests, as discussed in chapter 2 (see Annual Report, Bluff Harbour Board 1899-1907 and 1915). Kāi Tahu largely lobbied these authorities rather than acting as representatives on them. I discuss the responses that Kāi Tahu received when requesting support from the authorities in the following section.

6.2 Local Planning Authority Responses to Kāi Tahu Lifeways

In the following section, I illustrate how local authorities provided little response to Kāi Tahu lifeways despite the persistence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff. Examples of Pākehā responses to Kāi Tahu are contrasted in four subsections. Overall, the examples illustrate how local authorities responded with little more than 'good-hearted indifference' to Kāi Tahu lifeways in order to maintain superiority in power geometries through material dispossession between 1848 and 1991 (Schrader, 2014, p.5). I begin by

explaining how local authorities sought to retain space near Port Chalmers by providing little response to Kāi Tahu requests for the Princes Street Native Hostel.

6.2.1 Lobbying for the Princes Street Native Hostel

In chapter 5, I explained how Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou were able to shape the surroundings of Port Chalmers to a limited extent in the early post-contact era by requesting the construction of a Native Hostel on the Princes Street Native Reserve in the 1850s. I explained how the Princes Street Native Hostel was built in 1859 after Kāi Tahu lobbied the Otago Provincial Government for 'years and years' (interview with Ellison). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou received some acknowledgement for lobbying when the Otago Provincial Government agreed to construct the Princes Street Native Hostel after Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou sent a petition in 1857.

However, as I explained, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou had persisted with requests for the Princes Street Native Hostel for many years, along with the Princes Street Native Reserve site that it was on and other requested Native Reserve land. Despite the years of lobbying that Kāi Tahu had carried out, the Otago Provincial Government believed that returning just the reserve site and constructing a Native hostel 'amply answered all the requirements of the Natives' (*Otago Witness*, 1870). In addition, as I explained in chapter 5, the reserve was demolished just six years after it had been constructed and was not rebuilt (West, 2009).

Overall, the small response received by Kāi Tahu from the Otago Provincial Government after years of lobbying and the swift demolition of the Princes Street Native Hostel, demonstrate how the Otago Provincial Government responded to Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou with little more than 'good-hearted indifference' in order to maintain space at the surroundings of the port (Schrader, 2014, p.5). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou were unable to maintain the 'compartment' within the expanding colonial settlement that they had sought to gain through the Princes Street Native Hostel and were still limited to living on the tip of the Otago Peninsula in the early post-contact era (Harris, 2004, p.180; West, 2009). Kāi Tahu did persist at the port but Pākehā maintained dominance in power geometries through retaining control of the site (Massey, 2010). Similar responses were received by local authorities when Kāi Tahu requested financial support from them for initiatives.

6.2.2 Requests for Financial Support: Bluff Native Hostel and Ōtākou Native Church

In chapter 2, I explained how settlers often failed to provide Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka schools, hospitals and churches that they claimed they would provide in exchange for the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase and the 1853 Murihiku land purchase. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou made another attempt to shape Port Chalmers and its surroundings prior to the demolition of the Princes Street Native Hostel. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou provided missionaries with 57 pounds for the construction of a Native church at the Ōtākou settlement opposite Port Chalmers on the Otago Peninsula in 1863, two decades after they had been limited to living at this site following the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase (Taylor, 1952; Figure 1.3). Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou also subsequently raised 170 pounds for the construction of the church (Taylor, 1952).

The Native church was opened two years later in January 1865 (Taylor, 1952). Five hundred people attended the opening of the Native church. 120 of those who attended the opening were Māori and the other 380 were Pākehā (Taylor, 1952). The successful establishment of the Native church and large numbers of Pākehā in attendance at the opening of it demonstrate the support that Pākehā and colonial authorities were willing to provide for the construction of it. The Native church still stands at Ōtākou marae (meeting grounds) and provides Kāi Tahu with a physical presence there. The exterior of the church is shown in Figure 6.1 and the interior of the church is shown in Figure 6.2.

In contrast to the support provided by Pākehā for the Native church, responses of little more than ‘good-hearted indifference’ were gained from local planning authorities when funding was requested by Kāi Tahu for the improvement of the Bluff Native Hostel in 1902 (Schrader, 2014, p.5). As I discussed in chapter 5, when Parata requested that a section of the Bluff Native Hostel was improved in 1903, it was suggested that Awarua Rūnaka either gathered a collection for the work or carried it out themselves (*Southland Times*, 1903). Similarly, Awarua Rūnaka wanted a newer and larger hall to be constructed in Bluff much later in 1952 after the Bluff Native Hostel had been found to be too small (Taylor, 1952). Awarua Rūnaka approached local ‘governing bodies’ for support but gained little response from them (Taylor, 1952). Awarua Rūnaka eventually had to proceed with raising necessary finance for the centre, after gaining little support from local authorities (Taylor, 1952).

Figure 6.1: Ōtākou church (left) and marae (right) on the Otago Peninsula (Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, 2016).

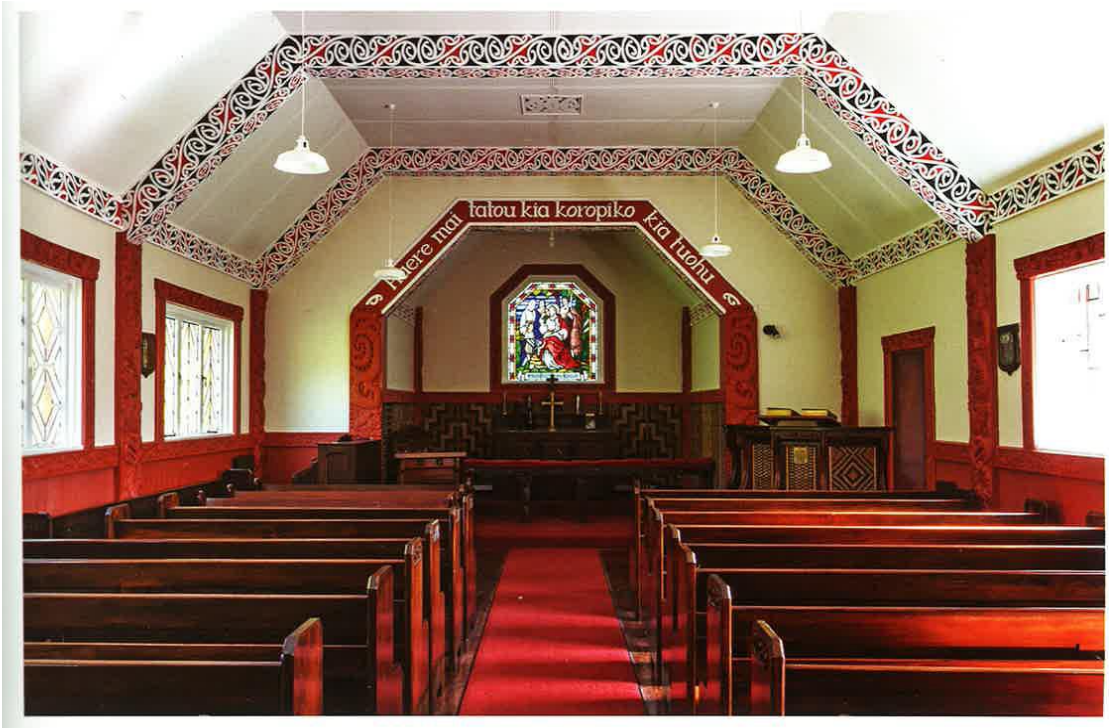


Figure 6.2: The interior of the church at Ōtākou marae (Walters et al., 2014, p.149).

The contrast between the response that Kāi Tahu gained in this circumstance where they requested financial support and the response that Kāi Tahu gained when they funded the Native church at Ōtākou themselves suggests that local authorities were willing to provide only a small response to Kāi Tahu when financial support was required (Schrader, 2014, p.5). Limiting the ability of Kāi Tahu to shape the ports by declining requests for funding ensured that Pākehā maintained dominance in power geometries through the control of space at the ports, reducing the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped the ports (Massey, 2010). Similar responses were gained by Kāi Tahu when requests were made for support for enterprises.

6.2.3 Benefits to Pākehā: Marine Enterprises

In Chapter 5, I explained how Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou member Rani Ellison was provided with financial support from other members of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou for the establishment of Ōtākou Fisheries Limited (OF) in Dunedin in 1946 (Schwimmer, 1957). Rani Ellison also gained support for the establishment of OF from the OHB when the company initially began as a business established by Rani Ellison and his two brothers near Ōtākou marae (Schwimmer, 1957).

The brothers decided that it would be better for the business if they could stimulate fishing, so they bought a shed and started building a landing ramp for fishing boats (Schwimmer, 1957). The OHB lent the three brothers a punt. The brothers anchored the punt in front of the landing ramp that they had built (Schwimmer, 1957). A railway was also later placed near to the wharf with the help of a pile driver borrowed from the OHB (Schwimmer, 1957). The provision of a punt and a pile driver by the OHB to support the establishment of Rani Ellison's OF business illustrates how local planning authorities did respond to Kāi Tahu lifeways with more than 'good-hearted indifference' on some occasions (Schrader, 2014, p.5).

In contrast to this, local planning authorities had provided little response when senior Kāi Tahu leader, Karetai, tried to gain support to establish a coastal shipping business in the 1850s, early in the post-contact era (Schrader, 2014, p.5). Karetai repeatedly wrote letters to the Otago Provincial Government asking for 200 pounds for a schooner or steamer to use for a coastal shipping business (West, 2009). Small one-masted schooners that were operated by Karetai and other Kāi Tahu for coastal transport had been wrecked in the 1840s and the 200 pound sum of money to replace them was beyond the means of nearly

all Māori (interview with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison; West, 2009). Karetai failed to receive a response to his letters from the Otago Provincial Government.

I argue that the support provided for Rani Ellison's business stemmed from the benefit that the business provided to Pākehā. As West (2012) explains, Kāi Tahu were key suppliers of fish to the Dunedin market from the late 19th century, throughout the contact and post-contact eras, providing food to Pākeha through the fishing that they carried out. Rani Ellison's business was also very successful, expanding throughout the South Island and globally, as I discussed in chapter 5 (Schwimmer, 1957). The success of the business would have helped with the growth of Dunedin's early economy, which was desired by the OHB who sought to expand economic opportunities as much as possible after being established in 1874 (McLean, 2001).

However, the successful establishment of a coastal shipping business around the 1850s is unlikely to have provided large benefits to Pākehā. Pākehā were establishing their own maritime and shipping businesses with larger vessels at this time (West, 2009). The failure of Karetai to successfully gain a response from the Otago Provincial Government may have resulted from the desire of Pākehā to succeed in these newly developing enterprises.

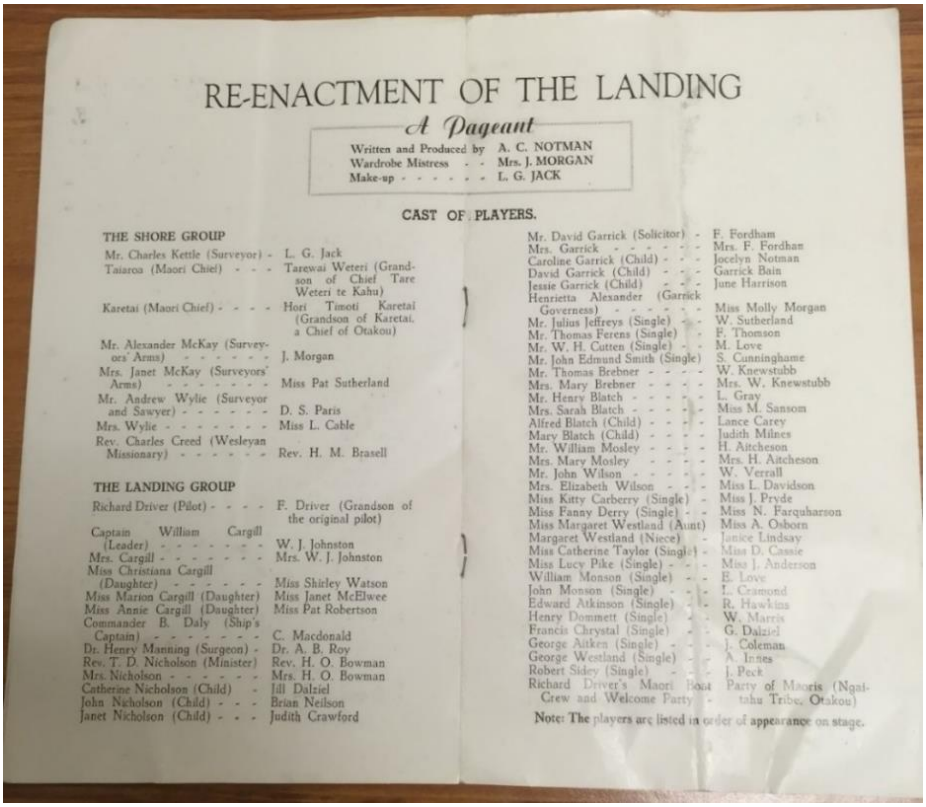
I explained in the previous two subsections, that the Otago Provincial Government demonstrated a similar reluctance to respond to the desires of Kāi Tahu for space through requests for Native Reserves and Native Hostels at the ports. This illustrates how they provided little response to Kāi Tahu because of their desire to retain control through claiming material space at the ports. It demonstrates how the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to shape the ports was limited, despite the ongoing presence of Kāi Tahu at the ports. Similarly, Pākehā were only eager to support lifeways viewed as authentic, which reinforced their dominance in power geometries (Massey, 2010).

6.2.4 "Authentic" Lifeways: Port Centennial Celebrations

Port celebrations illustrate how local planning authorities have tended to demonstrate little willingness to acknowledge Kāi Tahu lifeways unless Kāi Tahu conform to their visions of indigenous authenticity. In chapter 5, I provided an example of Māori and Invercargill representatives meeting together at the Bluff Native Hostel to make plans for the Centenary of the Southland Province (Rikihana, 1956). Kāi Tahu were recognised in celebrations such as this because they conformed to Pākeha visions of indigenous

authenticity, reinforcing colonial binaries that view indigenous cultures as static rather than dynamic (Raibmon, 2005).

The role provided to Kāi Tahu in the Port Chalmers Pageant for the Centennial Celebrations of the port on March 23rd 1948 also reinforced authentic notions of Kāi Tahu lifeways. Kāi Tahu were literally moved from the 'centre stage of the play', as they featured only at the beginning of the Port Chalmers Pageant as a welcoming party (Dacker, 1994, p.1). The Port Chalmers Pageant then largely focused on the arrival of settlers and the development of colonial settlement, reinforcing the perception that Kāi Tahu did not persist at the port following sustained contact with Pākehā in the late 19th century (Dacker, 1991). Emphasis on the disappearance of Kāi Tahu and the growth of colonial settlement emphasised how dominance was attained through occupation of the material space of Port Chalmers (Harris, 2004). Figure 6.3 illustrates the programme of the Port Chalmers Centennial Celebration in which Kāi Tahu were provided with a minimal role.



RE-ENACTMENT OF THE LANDING

A Pageant

Written and Produced by A. C. NOTMAN
Wardrobe Mistress - - Mrs. J. MORGAN
Make-up - - - - - - L. G. JACK

CAST OF PLAYERS.

THE SHORE GROUP

Mr. Charles Kettle (Surveyor) -	L. G. Jack
Taiaroa (Maori Chief) - - -	Tarewai Weteri (Grandson of Chief Tare Weteri te Kahu)
Karetai (Maori Chief) - - - -	Hori Timoti Karetai (Grandson of Karetai, a Chief of Otakou)
Mr. Alexander McKay (Surveyors' Arms) - - - - - - -	J. Morgan
Mrs. Janet McKay (Surveyors' Arms) - - - - - - -	Miss Pat Sutherland
Mr. Andrew Wylie (Surveyor and Sawyer) - - - - - -	D. S. Paris
Mrs. Wylie - - - - - - -	Miss L. Cable
Rev. Charles Creed (Wesleyan Missionary) - - - - - -	Rev. H. M. Brasell

THE LANDING GROUP

Richard Driver (Pilot) - - - -	F. Driver (Grandson of the original pilot)
Captain William Cargill (Leader) - - - - - - -	W. J. Johnston
Mrs. Cargill - - - - - - -	Mrs. W. J. Johnston
Miss Christiana Cargill (Daughter) - - - - - -	Miss Shirley Watson
Miss Marion Cargill (Daughter)	Miss Janet McElwee
Miss Annie Cargill (Daughter)	Miss Pat Robertson
Commander B. Daly (Ship's Captain) - - - - - - -	C. Macdonald
Dr. Henry Manning (Surgeon) -	Dr. A. B. Roy
Rev. T. D. Nicholson (Minister)	Rev. H. O. Bowman
Mrs. Nicholson - - - - - -	Mrs. H. O. Bowman
Catherine Nicholson (Child) -	Jill Dalziel
John Nicholson (Child) - - -	Brian Neilson
Janet Nicholson (Child) - - -	Judith Crawford
Mr. David Garrick (Solicitor) -	F. Fordham
Mrs. Garrick - - - - - -	Mrs. F. Fordham
Caroline Garrick (Child) - - -	Jocelyn Notman
David Garrick (Child) - - -	Garrick Bain
Jessie Garrick (Child) - - -	June Harrison
Henrietta Alexander (Garrick Governess) - - - - - -	Miss Molly Morgan
Mr. Julius Jeffreys (Single) - -	W. Sutherland
Mr. Thomas Ferens (Single) - -	F. Thomson
Mr. W. H. Cutten (Single) - -	M. Love
Mr. John Edmund Smith (Single)	S. Cunninghame
Mr. Thomas Brebner - - - -	W. Knewstubb
Mrs. Mary Brebner - - - -	Mrs. W. Knewstubb
Mr. Henry Blatch - - - - -	L. Gray
Mrs. Sarah Blatch - - - - -	Miss M. Sansom
Alfred Blatch (Child) - - - -	Lance Carey
Mary Blatch (Child) - - - -	Judith Milnes
Mr. William Mosley - - - -	H. Aitcheson
Mrs. Mary Mosley - - - -	Mrs. H. Aitcheson
Mr. John Wilson - - - - -	W. Verrall
Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson - - -	Miss L. Davidson
Miss Kitty Carberry (Single) -	Miss J. Pryde
Miss Fanny Derry (Single) - -	Miss N. Farquharson
Miss Margaret Westland (Aunt)	Miss A. Osborn
Margaret Westland (Niece) -	Janice Lindsay
Miss Catherine Taylor (Single) -	Miss D. Cassie
Miss Lucy Pike (Single) - - -	Miss J. Anderson
William Monson (Single) - - -	E. Love
John Monson (Single) - - -	T. Cramond
Edward Atkinson (Single) - -	R. Hawkins
Henry Dommett (Single) - -	W. Marris
Francis Chrystal (Single) - -	G. Dalziel
George Aitken (Single) - - -	J. Coleman
George Westland (Single) - -	A. Innes
Robert Sidey (Single) - - -	J. Peck
Richard Driver's Maori Boat Crew and Welcome Party -	Party of Maoris (Ngaitahu Tribe, Otakou)

Note: The players are listed in order of appearance on stage.

Figure 6.3: The Port Chalmers Centennial Celebration Souvenir programme, March 23 1948. The programme illustrates the small role provided to Kāi Tahu in the jubilee celebration 'Pageant of Progress'. Kāi Tahu are featured only at the beginning and end of the programme (top left and bottom right), creating a perception that they disappeared at the port following colonial settlement.

Kāi Tahu were also dressed in customary clothing at the 1948 Port Chalmers Centennial Celebration. Figure 6.4 illustrates the costumes worn by Kāi Tahu at the celebration. Customary clothing reaffirms colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity by reflecting static perceptions of indigenous culture that do not recognise that clothing styles may change following colonial contact (Raibmon, 2005). This presents an image that indigenous people and lifeways no longer exist because customs have changed, further reinforcing the perception that colonial society expanded successfully (Raibmon, 2005). Pākehā are likely to have been willing to acknowledge Kāi Tahu at the Pageant when Kāi Tahu were dressed in customary clothing because of the emphasis that it placed on the attainment of authority by Pākehā .

Figure 6.4: Customary clothing worn by Kāi Tahu at the Port Chalmers Centennial Celebration 1948 (image provided by Dr Stevens, 2016).

The four previous sub-sections have illustrated how local planning authorities tended to provide little response to Kāi Tahu lifeways. The Otago Provincial Government offered little acknowledgement to Kāi Tahu requests for a Native Reserve at Port Chalmers, a Native Hostel at Bluff and assistance with the establishment of enterprises. Pākehā were willing to acknowledge Kāi Tahu lifeways considered to be authentic in port celebrations. Pākehā authorities responded selectively to Kāi Tahu in ways that reduced the role and space of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff and ensured that the dominance of Pākehā in power geometries was reinforced, limiting the extent to which Kāi Tahu were able to

shape the ports (Anderson, 2004). The following section further illustrates how local planning authorities provided little acknowledgement to Kāi Tahu between 1848 and 1991, in order to maintain authority and reduce the impact that Kāi Tahu had at the ports. I focus on responses to continued Kāi Tahu environmental management and planning.

6.3 Local Planning Authority Responses to Kāi Tahu Planning

Dacker (1991) explained that Pākehā predominantly perceived Kāi Tahu planning to have ceased to continue following sustained interactions between Kāi Tahu and Pākehā in the late 19th century, until the Waitangi Tribunal claim and passage of the RMA in 1991. In the following section, I explain how Kāi Tahu environmental management and planning continued as an important and visible expression of Kāi Tahu lifeways between 1848 and 1991, despite its lack of representation in port narratives and management. I discuss how local planning authorities provided little response to Kāi Tahu environmental management and planning in order to maintain authority in power geometries at Port Chalmers and Bluff, in a similar way to the lifeways discussed in the previous section.

Often Kāi Tahu planning and environmental management continued 'away from the eye of Pākehā' (O'Regan, 2001, p. 81). For example, while watching a video about tītī practices on the visit to the Bluff Maritime Museum, Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Metzger noted how Kāi Tahu have continued to go to the Tītī Islands and 'study the birds each season' in order to 'know what the oscillation would be the next year'. Metzger and other Kāi Tahu continue to record the numbers of tītī in their diaries, even though the worth of it has not been proven or recognised by Pākehā.

Kāi Tahu environmental management was also carried out in places that were visible to Pākehā. Like the Princes Street Native Hostel and the Bluff Native Hostel discussed in chapter 5, Ōtākou marae has provided Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou with a way to practice planning and environmental management in site of Pākehā. Ōtākou marae is the Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou marae on the Otago Peninsula (Figure 1.3 and 2.6). It has remained a key site for Kāi Tahu to gather since its occupation as a pā in 1660, enduring throughout the settlement and population rise throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras as a meeting place for Kāi Tahu and 'a repository of knowledge and artefacts' (interview with Ellison; Walters et al., 2014). The visual presence provided to Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou by the marae is shown in Figure 6.1.

Hui (gathering) have been held at Ōtākou marae. For example, a hui was held for those who opposed the construction of an aluminium smelter at Aramoana, which was proposed in 1975. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison, opposed the construction of the smelter along with other members of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou, based on the belief that air and water discharges caused by the Aramoana smelter would have 'ripped that harbour to pieces' (interview with Ellison). Hui such as these brought the continuation of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou planning and environmental management into clear site of Pākehā.

Te Rau Aroha Marae is the Awarua Rūnaka marae in Bluff, as discussed in chapter 5 (see chapter 5, Figure 5.5). The panels inside Te Aroha Marae depict tītī caught on the Tītī Islands and pōhā (kelp bags) that are used to store tītī (Walters et al., 2015). The depiction of tītī practices provides colourful visual evidence of the continuation of Kāi Tahu planning and environmental management. The panels with tītī and pōhā are shown below in Figure 6.5. Te Rau Aroha marae also provides a place for Awarua Rūnaka to gather and become visible in Bluff as Māori. As Metzger discussed (pers. comm. 2016), 'it is not unusual to see the marae cooks still feeding the crowds when most of the other (stalls) are sold out 'at the annual Oyster and Seafood Festival held in Bluff near the end of May.

Figure 6.5: Panels with tītī at Te Rau Aroha marae in Bluff. The panels provide a visual reminder of the ongoing management of the Tītī Islands by members of Awarua Rūnaka who travel to the mutton-bird islands annually to harvest tītī. The pōhā panels illustrate ongoing environmental practices carried out to harvest tītī (Walters et al., 2014, p. 175).

However, despite the continuation and visibility of Kāi Tahu environmental planning and management, the colonial planning authorities that had been established maintained dominance over Kāi Tahu in the planning of Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 1991. The colonial authorities ensured that Port Chalmers and Bluff and their surroundings were continually 'reshaped and re-dimensioned' to suit colonial interests in optimising conditions for economic progress between their establishment in 1870 and their abolition in the 1980s (Gilliland, 2004, p.448).

At Port Chalmers, the OHB took pride in the first shipment of refrigerated meat in New Zealand being carried out from Port Chalmers in 1882. A special supplement of the *Otago Daily Times* was created to commemorate the event even 100 years after it occurred (*Otago Daily Times Special Supplement*: "A Century of Meat Exporters", 1982). South Island provinces also fought for the government to establish a container terminal at their ports in the 1970s. The OHB put up a strong argument that Port Chalmers would be the most suitable location for a container port because of its location and services (Containers at Otago, 1971; Environmental Impact Report, 1975, p.7). The OHB had a strong desire for the container terminal because of the trade opportunities that they believed it would provide (McLean, 2001). The container berth was developed in Port Chalmers in 1975 with the hope that it would ‘restore the confidence of major industries’ in the port (Containers at Otago, 1971). The container terminal remains a central feature of the port, as noted during observations that I made of Port Chalmers and shown in Figure 2.3 (see chapter 2).

In Bluff, Metzger suggested in the interview that the number of Kāi Tahu representatives on the BHB had declined since its establishment in 1877. Metzger feels that Māori environmental concerns now never get heard as a result. In addition, Metzger explained that since Bluff became a part of Invercargill there have been just a few Kāi Tahu ‘Bluff locals’ on the Community Board. Metzger made it evident that Kāi Tahu concerns often get dismissed on the Community Board, explaining that these locals ‘have to beg for things that, if ever done, take so long it’s hard to understand’.

This section has challenged past historical narratives by illustrating how Kāi Tahu continued to express lifeways through planning and environmental management practices at ports between 1848 and 1991. However, it has also illustrated that local authorities in both Port Chalmers and Bluff responded to Kāi Tahu planning and environmental

management with little more than 'good-hearted indifference' throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras, continuing with their own agendas and often failed to recognise or provide for Kāi Tahu attempts to practice planning (Schrader, 2014, p.5). Maintaining control of the ports through dominance in planning reinforced the superiority of the local authorities in power geometries at Port Chalmers and Bluff and limited the extent to which Kāi Tahu could shape the ports, despite the continuation of Kāi Tahu planning practices at these sites (Massey, 2010).

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that local planning authorities provided little response to Kāi Tahu lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 1991. I have provided evidence of how local planning authorities were particularly indifferent to Kāi Tahu lifeways when they challenged the authority of Pākehā in power geometries. I have explained how Kāi Tahu environmental management and planning continued as a visible Kāi Tahu lifeway and how local planning authorities also responded selectively to this, in order to retain authority through control of the material space of ports. This reveals the persistence of Kāi Tahu at the ports but illustrates how this was not recognised by Pākehā and how Pākehā responses limited the extent to which Kāi Tahu could shape the ports, reflecting dominant histories. In chapter 7, I further explain the continuation of Kāi Tahu planning and examine whether the RMA represents a rupture or continuation in Pākehā dominance at the ports and provides Kāi Tahu with the ability to contribute to resource management through the dominant planning regime. The discussion also exposes the continuation of Kāi Tahu planning, further explaining the extent to which Kāi Tahu have persisted at the ports.

Chapter 7: Framing and Recognition of Kāi Tahu values and practices in Port Chalmers and Bluff since the passage of the RMA 1991

7.1 Introduction

In chapters 5 and 6, I illustrated that Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning practices persisted at Port Chalmers and Bluff. However, I discussed how local planning authorities usually failed to provide for this, limiting the extent to which Kāi Tahu could shape the ports. In chapter 7, I address research question 3: how have Kāi Tahu values and practices have been framed and recognised in Port Chalmers and Bluff since the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)?

I begin chapter 7 by explaining the way in which Kāi Tahu planning has continued to take place at Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1991. I then discuss how Kāi Tahu lifeways and environmental values have been recognised and framed under the planning processes established by the RMA. I illustrate that Kāi Tahu planning has continued but argue that RMA recognition ultimately represents the continuation of Pākehā dominance in power geometries and the material spaces of ports, as well as the persistence of colonial binaries that view altered indigenous lifeways as inauthentic and limit the extent to which Kāi Tahu can participate in port planning.

7.2 Development of Kāi Tahu planning at Port Chalmers and Bluff from 1991

The review of resource management legislation that brought the RMA into existence provided Māori with a role in resource management, as I explained in chapter 2. Māori interests were recognised in sections 6(e), 7 and 8 of the RMA. In addition, a wide range of mechanisms were established under the Act that included Māori in planning and resource management processes. In chapter 2, I discussed how these mechanisms were seen to 'break through' the past ignorance of things Māori in planning processes by forcing management authorities to include Māori communities and incorporating Māori environmental perspectives into resource management (Matunga, 2006). The mechanisms did 'break through', but only to a small extent (Matunga, 2006).

In relation to Port Chalmers, it is possible to argue that some elements of Kāi Tahu planning were formalised as a result of the enactment the RMA. Kāi Tahu ki Otago

Limited (KTKO Ltd) was established in Dunedin 'around the time the RMA came out' (interview with KTKO Ltd manager, Rosenbrock)[17]. KTKO Ltd is owned by the four Kāi Tahu rūnaka in Otago: Hokonui, Ōtākou, Puketeraki and Moeraki (interview with Rosenbrock). KTKO Ltd represents the rūnaka in resource management processes established under the RMA. For example, KTKO Ltd provide written approvals for non-notified resource consent applications, consult rūnaka when approval is needed on consent applications and conduct cultural impact assessments on behalf of rūnaka (KTKO Ltd, 2016).

Aspects of Kāi Tahu planning at Bluff were similarly formalised under the RMA. Iwi planning consultancy Te Ao Mārama Incorporated (TAMI) was created in 1996 from an organisation called Te Rūnanga o Murihiku to work with southern city, district and regional councils (interview with TAMI planner Whaanga; TAMI, 2016). TAMI consists of representatives from the four Murihiku Rūnaka; Awarua, Hokonui, Ōraka-Aparima and Waihōpai (TAMI, 2016). The aim of TAMI is to represent the four rūnaka on resource management and local government related issues (interview with Whaanga; TAMI, 2016).

However, despite the formalisation of iwi planning, Pākehā authorities have maintained control of planning at Port Chalmers and Bluff since 1991. As I explained in chapter 2, the development of Port Chalmers has been managed by Port Otago Limited (POL) since the abolition of the Otago Harbour Board (OHB) in 1988. The development of Port Chalmers has also been regulated by the Dunedin City Council (DCC) and Otago Regional Council (ORC) through district and regional plans since their establishment in the 1988 local government reforms. Similarly, the development of the Bluff port has been managed by South Port New Zealand Limited (SPNZL) since the abolition of the Southland Harbour Board (SHB) in 1988. Likewise, Bluff Harbour's development has been regulated by the district and regional plans of the Invercargill City Council (ICC) and Environment Southland (ES) since their establishment in the 1988 local government reforms.

The continued dominance of local government in port planning means that Kāi Tahu are still only able to gain recognition from the authorities at best, rather than act in partnership

[17] I use the term Kāi Tahu ki Ōtākou Ltd to refer to the environmental consultancy and Kāi Tahu ki Ōtākou to refer to the wider rūnaka.

to plan the ports with them, as it is suggested they should (Matunga, 2000). In the following subsections, I compare how the dominant planning authorities have recognised continued attempts of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka to gain recognition in planning at Port Chalmers and Bluff through KTKO Ltd and TAMI.

7.3 Recognition of Kāi Tahu planning and lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff from 1991

This section is divided into four parts. The first two parts focus on Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou, discussing first their engagement in broader planning and then their role in port planning. The next two parts follow this same pattern for Awarua Rūnaka. The first sections predominantly draw on the interviews with Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison and KTKO Ltd manager, Rosenbrock. The second sections are largely based on interviews with Awarua Rūnaka kaumātua, Metzger and TAMI planner, Whaanga. I focus on the extent to which Kāi Tahu have been able to engage with RMA planning and port planning processes to assess the recognition that the RMA has provided them with at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

7.3.1 Involvement of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in RMA Planning

The ability of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou to engage with broader planning processes increased as a result of the enactment of the RMA. KTKO Ltd manager, Rosenbrock explained in an interview that the multiple ‘rūnaka were getting inundated by requests for consultation, and they were all duplicating the work across each other, so they decided to set up KTKO Ltd as their one-stop shop to handle that process for them’. Rosenbrock further explained that RMA processes had been ‘effective’ and had ‘opened up many other doors (to planning processes) once you’re in there’, and suggested that if the RMA ‘wasn’t there then we wouldn’t be able to do what we do’.

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have also been able to develop relationships with local authorities as a result of the RMA. KTKO Ltd have established protocols with the ORC and all Otago district councils (KTKO Ltd, 2016). The protocols ‘set out the process for facilitating Kāi Tahu engagement in the councils’ resource consent and plan change processes’ (KTKO Ltd, 2016). Rosenbrock suggested that these protocols and new relationships with territorial authorities are unlikely to have developed without the RMA:

> if we didn't have the RMA and the mention of that in there it would be interesting to see if the council would still want that relationship with Kāi Tahu. I doubt it that they would, but the RMA has enabled that, which is really, really good.

According to Rosenbrock, the RMA has enabled KTKO Ltd to 'have many interactions with councils at many different levels'. For example, a 'mana to mana group' has been developed with the ORC. The mana to mana group meets once a year and consists of 'a selection of the councillors, the chief executive and the chair, with the chairs of the four rūnaka' (interview with Rosenbrock). In addition, a new group called 'Te Roopū Taiao' has been formed. Te Roopū Taiao consists of the chief executives and chairs of all councils in Otago except for the Queenstown Lakes District Council (QLDC), as well as the rūnaka chairs. It provides a direct forum for rūnaka to express resource management concerns (interview Rosenbrock). In addition, the principal planner at KTKO Ltd has a strong relationship with senior staff at the ORC and the 'consents person' at KTKO Ltd has a well established connection with ORC consents staff (interview with Rosenbrock).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have also been able to express their own resource management aspirations through iwi management plans (IMP). The Kāi Tahu ki Otago Natural Resource Management Plan 2005 (NRMP 2005) is an IMP made to express 'Kāi Tahu values, knowledge and perspectives on natural resource and environmental management issues' (KTKO Ltd, 2016). The work of KTKO Ltd is guided by the NRMP 2005 (KTKO Ltd, 2016). The kaupapa (guiding principle) of the plan is 'Ki Uta ki Tai' which means 'from the mountains to the sea'. The Ki Uta ki Tai kaupapa reflects the Kāi Tahu holistic philosophy of resource management that acknowledges environmental linkages (KTKO Ltd, 2016).

Overall, the ability of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou to engage in planning processes has increased as a result of the RMA and the processes established by it. KTKO Ltd and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have been provided with opportunities to engage with planning processes, develop relationships with local authorities and develop IMP. In the following section, I discuss the ability that KTKO Ltd and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have specifically gained to engage with port planning through these processes.

7.3.2 Involvement of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in Port Chalmers Planning

KTKO Ltd have been able to engage with the management of Port Chalmers to some extent through producing reports that relate to the port's development. Rosenbrock explained that KTKO Ltd assisted with a report on the Koputai (Port Chalmers) Native

Reserve (discussed in chapters 5 and 6) and also recently produced a cultural impact assessment of the proposed Next Generation plan made by POL. The POL Next Generation Plan guides the development of the port and explains the intention of POL to dredge and widen the Port Chalmers harbour channel, as explained in chapter 2 (interview with Rosenbrock; POL, 2016)

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have also been able to form a relationship with port planning authorities outside of KTKO Ltd. Continuing to draw on the interview with Rosenbrock, it was clear that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou had 'been in discussions with the port company over the years' about the Koputai Native Reserve. Rosenbrock was not sure 'where they've got to'. Similarly, there have been ongoing discussions and 'a bit of planning' around a mātaitai (exclusive hapū managed non-commercial fisheries area) in the Otago Harbour, which Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou applied for in 2008 (interview with Ellison). The mātaitai was granted in September 2016 (New Zealand Legislation, 2016).

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison explained that the rūnaka 'did have a more spasmodic relationship' with POL in the past 30 years because POL 'got a consent in '84 or '78 or something like that… and once they got their consent for a term of 35 years, we didn't see them anymore'. However, the relationship between Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and POL is now 'pretty strong' and 'this time around' when POL proposed the Next Generation Plan, the rūnaka said:

> No, you've got to keep in touch with us, we want to know what is happening, what the issues are, how your consent is tracking, how the dredging is going, are you doing appropriate studies to check what effect this dredging is having on the floor of the harbour, on the habitat, on the eco-systems, on the sedimentation? You know, what are those issues? And smothering kaimoana, the cockles, you know? (interview with Ellison)

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou now meet with POL three times a year and in the parties 'continued relationship, we grow and go with them. If they strike issues they tell us about it. We talk about it, we say oh well watch that, look after that.' Ellison further explains 'we have input into the process and they keep us informed, so we like that, and that's the way it should have been'. Moreover, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou are 'also directly involved and engaged at the governance, chief executive level (of POL)…and it's a pretty good relationship…if there's an issue we talk about it, we don't skirt around it' (interview with Ellison).

For the kaumātua, the strength of the relationship with POL is demonstrated by the recent naming of two tugs. Ellison suggests:

> nowadays our relationship with Port Otago…we've got pretty strong, in fact we were asked to name their last two tugs, the last year that came, a year and a half ago they bought a new tug, we named it, Taiaroa, and there's a new tug coming in this month, we've named it after a grand-aunty of mine – Arahi, so that's the relationship we have with Port Otago… it has certainly grown in the last ten years.

However, despite the improving relationship, KTKO Ltd and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou more generally still only have limited recognition within the planning of Port Chalmers. KTKO Ltd manager Rosenbrock explained that KTKO Ltd had not had 'much to do' with the 'planning of the port company itself'. He explained that 'if they needed consents then yes they would come and talk to us, if they don't need consents we don't hear from them'.

Rosenbrock believed that it would be beneficial if POL did consult KTKO Ltd more, so that KTKO Ltd could 'know what's going on'. Ellison reaffirmed the limitations on the involvement of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou with the management of Port Chalmers. He explained that 'there's a technical group, which we rely on a bit…for probing and testing and pushing right into the detail, and we're sitting over here we'll see their minutes and ongoing stuff and issues, which helps inform us as well'.

In addition, Ellison explained that in relation to councils 'here in Otago…we don't always see eye-to-eye in the end with where things land so we continue to submit on things as a result, or be actively raising those issues', highlighting that tensions still exist between Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and planning authorities. Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have a strong connection to the wider Otago Harbour and a strong interest in water management (interview with Rosenbrock; NRMP 2005). Rosenbrock explained that 'the majority of focus for the RMA team has been around water resources'. However, despite the strong connection that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have with the Otago Harbour and water, there is little incorporation of Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou in relation to the port or harbour sections of the DCC, ORC or POL plans (DCC, 2006; ORC, 2012; POL, 2016).

As I explained in the previous section, Kāi Tahu only gain recognition within a Pākehā planning system that remains dominant, rather than managing the ports in partnership or having autonomy and recognition for Kāi Tahu lifeways and forms of environmental management. The RMA has not reversed this at Port Chalmers. Rosenbrock suggests that the RMA 'could always be taken further and we are always pushing for it to be taken

further and the wording to be wider and stuff like that, but it is what it is'. In this way, the RMA reinforces power geometries at Port Chalmers in which Kāi Tahu are subjugated and marginalised and Pākehā remain dominant actors in port management overall (Massey, 2010).

7.3.3 Involvement of Awarua Rūnaka in RMA Planning

In a similar way, the RMA has enabled TAMI and Awarua Rūnaka to have greater input into planning processes in Bluff. In an interview, a planner at TAMI, Dean Whaanga, explained that before the RMA Kāi Tahu 'values were compromised hugely' because there was no 'ability to input...to help set policy and direction'. He explained that TAMI are able to ‘act as a conduit’ and ‘give voice on behalf of the four rūnanga down here for the RMA’. Like KTKO Ltd, TAMI was created soon after the RMA was enacted to facilitate and make more efficient new requirements to ‘consult and give iwi voice to environmental issues’ (interview with Whaanga). Whaanga suggested that ‘the RMA wants us to input into all the plans, the regional policy statements, or the different types of plans that different councils have’.

Whaanga states that TAMI and members of Awarua Rūnaka members have also been able to develop strong relationships with local planning authorities. TAMI work with seven councils and have developed Charters of Understanding and relationships with them that enable them to input into processes and plans on behalf of the four rūnaka (interview with Whaanga). Whaanga stated that these Charters establish how all parties will ‘work together with each other appropriately… and the means of how we consult each other’.

There is a sense that there is little tension between TAMI and staff at local planning authorities. A report called *Te Kotahitanga o te Whakahaere Rawa: Māori and Council Engagement Under the Resource Management Act 1991* was published by Te Puni Kokiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) to inform the Government of ways to improve the effectiveness of council-Māori engagement. The report suggested that informal contact between councils and TAMI, including home phone calls and casual meetings, enable continuous exchanges of information to take place (Te Puni Kokiri, 2004). Whaanga reaffirms that this positive relationship exists, stating that TAMI have ‘good relationships with all the consenting office teams at the different councils’ (interview with Whaanga).

Individual Awarua Rūnaka also have various interactions with local planning authorities and planning processes outside of TAMI. Whaanga explained that several Awarua Rūnaka had 'been through the varsities and all that now and they've come out of that knowing RMA, western science, Māori science and Māori environmental perspectives'. Whaanga suggests that such people have been able to amalgamate their areas of knowledge to give input into RMA processes such as plan changes, alongside the work that TAMI carries out.

TAMI have also been able to develop an IMP that expresses the resource management aspirations of the four southern rūnaka. Development of the IMP began in 2005 and it was formalised in 2008 (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008). The IMP is called Te Tangi a Tauira, which means 'cry of the people' and relates to a whakatauki (Māori proverb), *whakarongo mai ke te tangi a tauira,* which means 'listen to the cry of the people' (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008). The IMP represents the environmental concerns and perspectives of the four Murihiku rūnaka (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008). It is viewed as a key tool to enhance their capacity for rangatiratanga (self-determination) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) because it consolidates Kāi Tahu ki Murihiku environmental knowledge and perspectives and the rūnaka believe that it can act as a starting point for direct consultation with local planning authorities (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008).

TAMI and Awarua Rūnaka appear to have been able to develop strong relationships with local authorities as a result of RMA processes. The RMA seems to have benefitted TAMI and Awarua Rūnaka even more then KTKO Ltd and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou, as demonstrated by the comprehensive council engagement that TAMI and Awarua Rūnaka members have been able to achieve. However, limitations on engagement with port planning still exist. I discuss these in the following subsection.

7.3.4 Involvement of Awarua Rūnaka in Port Planning

Like Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou, Awarua Rūnaka have maintained a strong connection to water, the harbour and the port in Bluff. In an interview, TAMI planner Whaanga suggested that freshwater issues were 'the number one at the moment' for TAMI. According to Whaanga, Awarua Rūnaka and TAMI have been involved with the development of the ES Land and Water Plan and have recently also had input into the development of the Ministry for the Environment National Policy Statement for Freshwater. This demonstrates the high emphasis on water management. These relationships to water and

coast were also highlighted in an interview with Metzger. He trained sea scouts for 20 years, and demonstrated the connection that young Kāi Tahu have to the port when he stated that for these young people…

> what their target in life was – what they were gonna do and where they were gonna work and, you know, setting their sights on for their future… all of their targets, almost all, was that they would always live in Bluff and they would be an oysterman or a fisherman or work on the wharf or at Ocean Beach (freezing works).

However, Awarua Rūnaka and TAMI have only been able to engage with planning in Bluff to some extent, despite their ongoing connection to the Bluff harbour and port. As discussed in chapter 6, Metzger explained in an interview that the number of Kāi Tahu representatives on the SHB had declined since it had been established in 1877. In addition, when questioned about the engagement of TAMI with the planning of Bluff, Whaanga suggested that TAMI 'don't spend a lot of time thinking about the port'. He said the main engagement that Awarua Rūnaka had with planning of the Bluff harbour was through ES monitoring of water quality in the harbour and some consents for things like moorings[18].

In relation to the settlement, discussions with the ICC focused on helping to decide significant landscapes in drafting the District Plan. Whaanga also explained that other than a new iwi-owned fish factory, Te Rau Aroha marae and a few information panels with Māori images on Mōtupohue (Bluff hill) there was 'little in knowing' that Bluff was a 'Kāi Tahu sort of a landscape'. This indicates that Kāi Tahu have only been able to maintain a limited visual and physical presence at the port.

The limited engagement of TAMI with planning in Bluff may be a result of the issues that TAMI face with RMA processes and the capacity to be involved:

> in a place like this, there's not a lot of people that are interested in environmental matters, so it's only a small group of us that have the experience around working with the RMA and knowing that there's a space there or a pathway there to try and make change…it's all very well giving us the ability to input into plans, policies and all that, but we don't have the capability, capacity, resources, money to do that in a lot of cases, unlike the councils who are rates-based (interview with Whaanga).

The limited capacity of TAMI and Awarua Rūnaka to engage with planning processes because of a lack of resources has been reaffirmed by reports such as the *Te Kotahitanga*

[18] Note that Bluff is no longer a key port like Port Chalmers, so there is no container terminal there (A World History of Bluff, 2016). The port has features such as moorings instead.

o te Whakahaere Rawa: Māori and Council Engagement Under the Resource Management Act 1991 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2004). The report found that all of the six iwi groups interviewed from across New Zealand for the report were selective about which planning issues they engaged with because of limitations imposed by capacity (Te Puni Kokiri, 2004).

Awarua Rūnaka are also still positioned as subordinate actors in the planning of Bluff. Similar to Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou experiences at Port Chalmers, Awarua Rūnaka are able to participate in RMA processes but Pākehā still have control of them. Whaanga suggested that Awarua Rūnaka have a lack of control over processes in Bluff planning, explaining in an interview that overall the RMA is 'okay' and provides Kāi Tahu with an ability to 'try and direct change', indicating that it does not go far enough in recognising or enabling the expression of Kāi Tahu lifeways and resource management. Whaanga also expressed concern that values would be compromised under the RMA:

> we want to maintain our values and the strength of our values out there on the environment but you've gotta do that, well the RMA process makes you do that, in collaborative and discussion ways… you have to conform with the other culture I suppose, but you don't want to compromise your values.

Overall, it seems that Awarua Rūnaka and TAMI have been able to develop slightly better relationships then Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou with local authorities in Bluff and have benefitted from the ability that the RMA has provided for them to engage in planning processes. However, they are still limited in the extent to which they can engage in actual planning practices within the regulatory system and are still required to work within a system that is controlled by Pākehā, suggesting that Pākehā have continued to remain dominant over Kāi Tahu in power geometries (Massey, 2010). In the following section, I explain how the way Kāi Tahu are framed in the RMA also restricts the extent to which Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning can be accurately expressed at the ports and reinforces binaries of indigenous authenticity, despite the consistent development of Kāi Tahu planning perspectives (Raibmon, 2005).

7.4 Framing of Kāi Tahu planning and lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff from 1991

I have explained how Raibmon (2005) suggests that the perpetuation of colonial binaries that view dynamic indigenous lifeways as inauthentic continues as part of the colonial mindset. In the following section, I explain how the way that Kāi Tahu lifeways and

planning have been framed in RMA planning at Port Chalmers and Bluff further perpetuates this logic. I explain how Māori approaches to the environment have remained diverse and focussed on the protection of mahika kai. I then discuss how Kāi Tahu struggle to gain recognition or represent these perspectives in RMA processes. I demonstrate a need to consider how Māori perspectives can be more accurately and effectively incorporated into the RMA.

Pākehā have historically struggled to recognise the way that Kāi Tahu resource management operates. Ballantyne (2011) explains that Kāi Tahu economic and resource management practices were traditionally centred on mahika kai, while Pākehā practices were based on private property ownership and rights (Ballantyne, 2011). These differing ways of understanding resources caused a collision between Pākehā and Māori (Ballantyne, 2011). The colonial state alienated Māori land because mahika kai practices were not recognised as legitimately establishing private property rights (Ballantyne, 2011).

Māori have primarily continued to place importance on mahika kai. (Roberts et al., 1995). Resources could be utilised as long as mahika kai practices could be carried out (Roberts et al., 1995). This means that environmental perspectives were not based on a consideration of whether environmental or economic outcomes would be achieved, like the Pākehā environmental political spectrum, but instead on whether mahika kai practices could be continued (Roberts et al., 1995).

In addition, Māori developed diverse environmental perspectives. As I have explained in chapter 2 and chapter 5, Kāi Tahu lifeways adapted to incorporate Pākehā practices following the primordial era, almost as soon as contact occurred with Pākehā. Commercial opportunities were seized by Kāi Tahu like Tuhawaiki at Ruapuke through travelling on whaling boats and establishing his own whaling station in the early 19th century (Anderson, 1998). Other Kāi Tahu sought to retain the customary resource management laws and practices explained in chapter 2 (Williams, 2002). This resulted in the development of heterogeneous lifeways and environmental perspectives.

Māori environmental perspectives have diversified and remained focused on mahika kai. In the following subsections, I illustrate that a diversity of Kāi Tahu perspectives continues to exist at Port Chalmers and Bluff and explain how resource management continues to be based around the protection and use mahika kai. I address Awarua Rūnaka

and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou environmental perspectives in turn, before discussing how the way that the RMA is framed creates difficulty for accurate recognition of these. I begin by explaining the diversity of Awarua Rūnaka environmental perspectives.

7.4.1 Kāi Tahu Environmental Perspectives

Gaining sustainable environmental outcomes has been central to Awarua Rūnaka resource management. For example, Metzger (pers. comm. 2016) highlights that his grandparents taught he and their other 18 grandchildren to 'fish, mutton-bird and hunt SUSTAINABLY (sic)' by his grandparents at Greenhills, five miles from Bluff. Metzger (pers. comm. 2016) explains that in his view this is 'as Māori were always taught, studying every resource that they used to make sure that it was used sustainably'. He goes on to say that he believed that Kāi Tahu developed sustainable management philosophies because they learnt that there was a need to conserve resources after 'pollution in the islands that Māori came from'. Consequently, resource management is holistic and involves looking from the 'Mountains to the Sea'. Management that involves looking from the 'Mountains to the Sea' is also the kaupapa of Te Tangi a Tauira, the regional IMP (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008).

Awarua Rūnaka continue to favour environmental outcomes at Bluff in some circumstances. Metzger explained that TAMI and Papatipu marae representatives 'question the taking of water and spraying with fertilisers because of the impact that it has on water quality'. He suggested that Awarua Rūnaka understand that 'if the sea will get sick…then we will get sick' and expressed disappointment that the ES 'continues to write out and ratify permits for the activity to take place'.

However, other Awarua Rūnaka place equal or more value economic outcomes in resource management processes. Whaanga explained that he would 'love to see Bluff…have the ability to attract more people' and that 'you want the jobs and all that sort of stuff'. Te Tangi a Tauira, the IMP for the region, also acknowledges the style of Kāi Tahu resource management that developed through the maintenance of 'traditional rights and attitudes towards land, water and natural resources' as well as the 'adoption of new skills, new technologies and new methods of resource management, control and labour utilisation' (Te Rūnanga o Murihiku, 2008, p.24).

In addition, Awarua Rūnaka are predominately focussed on the protection and use of kaimoana (seafood) and mahika kai (land and sea resources). Whaanga explained that

maintaining the health of estuaries had been a particularly strong focus for TAMI because the estuaries were 'one of the most important food gathering areas'. Whaanga also explained that issues such as sedimentation had been a large focus for TAMI because these issues 'stuff up...traditional food gathering practices'. Furthermore, Whaanga stated:

> We want…the ability to go and get mahinga kai. The Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act talked about the nine talls trees, eight of those were around land and the last tall tree was about…the mahinga kai – our ability to continue to collect food. And people still want to do that, a lot of our people still want to be able to do that.

For Whaanga, both resource utilisation and protection are favoured as long as mahika kai practices can be carried out. Whaanga explained that to him 'the heart of the RMA' is about 'balance between the environment and environmental protection and resource use', further stating:

> if you keep that balance (between the environment and resource use) and if we can keep our Māori values and the ability to maintain Māori values and our responsibility as kaitiaki (guardians) to maintain those values to hand down to our children then I think the future might be alright for us.

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou are also predominately concerned with maintaining mahika kai. This is demonstrated by the recent establishment of a plaque at the Toitū tauraka waka (landing site) at the site of the Princes Street Reserve, discussed in chapters 5 and 6. The Toitū tauraka waka was established near the prominent exchange building in March 2016 to acknowledge the importance of the site as a landing site and a key site for gathering and selling kaimoana (interview with Ellison; Brown, 2016; Figure 5.2). Ellison indicated that the tauraka waka was 'a significant part of...history and traditions' because of its use for mahika kai. The NRMP 2005 (p.65) also emphasises the importance of mahika kai to Kāi Tahu where it states that 'mahika kai is the basis of culture, and the unrelenting cultural imperative is to keep the mahika kai intact, to preserve its productivity and the diversity of species'.

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou kaumātua, Ellison explained that he was largely sceptical of the POL proposal to further dredge and widen the port because of the potential 'collapse of the ecosystems' that it could cause. Ellison stated 'that's what happened when they got their last consent in capital dredging – it was done, they got the big dredges out and it just smothered all the sediment and what have you, damaged all the ecosystem in the bed of the harbour'.

Ellison's concerns appear to have stemmed from his desire to protect mahika kai and kaimoana. Ellison explained that last time:

> The cockles sort of just disappeared for a long time, for years, flatfish went and never really have come back – they're just starting to reappear now, in the last year or so. But once when I was a kid you could go out there and get these beautiful big flatfish, spear these beautiful big flounders and so that's what we're trying to avoid, having the dredging have another big effect on the ecosystem.

Similar to Awarua Rūnaka, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou predominately aim to ensure that mahika kai practices can continually be carried out. As I have explained in chapters 5 and 6, Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou have been willing to engage with port authorities and participate in the commercial life of Port Chalmers, so long as mahika kai is protected. Ellison explained that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou took part in fishing and running water taxis at Port Chalmers and played roles on the OHB, further stating that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou are a 'commercial people'.

For both Awarua Rūnaka and Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou, a diversity of environmental perspectives persists and emphasis is placed on protecting mahika kai practices. In the following subsection, I discuss how the RMA often fails to recognise the centrality of mahika kai to Kāi Tahu and the diversity of Kāi Tahu environmental perspectives that exist. I discuss the RMA and planning broadly and then focus on the recognition of Māori in the RMA. I explain the implication of the lack of accurate provision for Māori perspectives for the structures of power and ongoing recognition of Kāi Tahu in resource management at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

7.4.2 Recognition of Kāi Tahu Environmental Perspectives in the RMA

Pākehā perspectives have been represented in the dominant resource management system. Resource management decisions have been seen to be primarily based on a trade-off between environmental and economic outcomes, rather than the protection of resources such as mahika kai, reflecting the Pākehā environmental political spectrum. The tension between the environment and the economy is placed at the heart of the RMA (Warnock and Baker-Galloway, 2015). For example, section 5(1) of the RMA establishes that the purpose of the RMA is to provide for the 'sustainable management of natural and physical resources'. Section 5(2) explains that sustainable management is the 'use, development and protection' of natural and physical resources.

In addition, Pākehā have often not perceived Māori environmental perspectives as diverse. As discussed in chapter 2, Māori creation narratives establish a whakapapa (genealogical) lineage between Māori and the environment (Roberts et al., 1995). As such, Māori traditionally viewed themselves as part of nature, rather than separate from it (Roberts et al., 1995). Whakapapa relationships involve reciprocity, establishing a relationship with the environment where humans can use environmental resources so long as they sustain them (Roberts et al., 1995). This emphasis on sustaining resources often leads to the perception that all Māori favour environmental outcomes in resource management processes (Roberts et al., 2005).

As I have explained in chapter 2, Māori environmental relationships and perspectives were incorporated into the RMA through sections 6(e), 7(a) and 8. Section 6(e) of the RMA establishes 'the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga' as a 'matter of national importance' that must be taken into account by 'all persons exercising functions' under the RMA. Section 7(a) requires particular regard to kaitiakitanga and section 8 requires the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to be taken into account.

Kaitiakitanga in section 7(a) of the RMA involves a balance between use and protection to Kāi Tahu. As I explained, Kāi Tahu view themselves as related to the environment and this establishes a reciprocal relationship based on a balance between use and protection. Kaitiakitanga does involve guarding resources, as it involves maintaining their mauri (life-force) (Roberts et al., 2005). However, the reciprocal relationship established with the resources means they are sustained so that they can be used by current and future generations, rather than for the sake of preservation alone (Roberts et al., 2005). This desire to protect resources for use is consistent with the emphasis that both Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka place on the protection of resources for use as mahika kai.

Section 7(a) of the RMA is often interpreted by decision makers to reflect a Kāi Tahu interest in environment outcomes alone rather than a balance between resource utilisation and protection, so long as mahika kai is protected. Kaitiakitanga in section 7(a) is defined as 'stewardship' in section 2, which implies guarding property on behalf of someone else and preserving it (Roberts et al., 1995). The interpretation of kaitiakitanga in the RMA section 2 emphasises the desire of Kāi Tahu to protect resources alone (Roberts et al., 1995).

Section 6(e), 7(a) and 8 of the RMA also reinforce the idea that Māori and Kāi Tahu environmental perspectives are homogenous by providing a single set of values to be taken into account. This singular view of Māori and Kāi Tahu environmental management fails to capture the diversity of Māori environmental perspectives that exist. Whaanga explained that in his role as a 'conduit' for Kāi Tahu in RMA processes at TAMI, he finds the RMA problematic because:

> People have a whole lot of different ideas on things, based on their upbringing and their thoughts around things…and we've got to try and get their views across and their requirements and wants and dreams and aspirations for the environment through this RMA process and those views can be very diverse.

The view provoked by the RMA that Kāi Tahu perspectives are not diverse reinforces colonial binaries in which adapted Kāi Tahu customs are viewed as inauthentic. Kāi Tahu lifeways are not seen to have evolved to become heterogeneous, as they did following contact with Pākehā in the late 19th century. Pākehā view themselves as dominant in power relations and management because they view Kāi Tahu to have suffered cultural and demographic decline, as the diverse lifeways are not acknowledged (Raibmon, 2005).

This continued lack of recognition of diverse Kāi Tahu lifeways and the centrality of mahika kai practices demonstrates that the RMA has not 'broken through' the past ignorance of Māori in planning (Matunga, 2006). It illustrates that there is still a need to reconsider the incorporation of Māori concerns in both port planning processes and broader planning processes under the RMA, to ensure that the continuation of Kāi Tahu through diverse lifeways and environmental perspectives is recognised (Matunga, 2006).

Overall, this section has illustrated how Kāi Tahu base resource management perspectives on the retention of mahika kai for current use and the use of future generations. A diversity of perspectives exist and both resource utilisation and protection are favoured in resource management, as long as mahika kai practices can be carried out. The RMA largely does not recognise this, framing decisions around environmental and economic trade-offs, viewing the aim of kaitiakitanga as resource protection and providing a single set of values that make the representation of diverse Kāi Tahu aspirations difficult. This reinforces colonial binaries of authenticity, which in turn leads to a lack of recognition of the presence of Kāi Tahu and reinforces the dominance of Pākehā within power geometries at Port Chalmers and Bluff and more broadly (Massey, 2010). It illustrates a need to consider how Māori perspectives can be incorporated in resource management in order to acknowledge the extent to which Kāi Tahu have shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff are recognised and framed in the RMA. I have explained how KTKO Ltd and TAMI have been able to successfully engage with planning in Port Chalmers and Bluff to some extent. However, RMA processes continue to limit the engagement of Kāi Tahu in planning, reasserting the dominance of Pākehā in power geometries and affirming dominant histories and management systems that do not acknowledge the persistence of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning. I have explained how the RMA perpetuates colonial binaries of indigenous authenticity by failing to acknowledge the diversity of values that Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka have and the centrality of mahika kai to Kāi Tahu. I have discussed how this illustrates that the RMA does not represent a break from the past subordination of Kāi Tahu within Port Chalmers and Bluff planning and how it calls for consideration of how Kāi Tahu interests can be woven into the RMA in the future, in a way that effectively and accurately recognises Kāi Tahu resource management aspirations. In chapter 8, I conclude by further explaining how the findings from chapter 5, 6 and 7 have helped to assess the visibility of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff and the need to recognise this in current resource management. I draw together the significance of the persistence of Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff, challenging dominant historical narratives and planning regimes.

Chapter 8: Beyond Colonial Visions of Port Chalmers and Bluff

Te Rūnaka o Ōtākou and Awarua Rūnaka persisted at coastal enclaves such as Port Chalmers and Bluff, following land losses and restricted access to mahika kai that resulted from the 1844 Ōtākou land purchase and the 1853 Murihiku land purchase. The continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways at Port Chalmers and Bluff following sustained contact with Pākehā and colonial settlement in the post- contact era in 1848 has gained little recognition by Pākehā. Kāi Tahu only 're-emerged' to Pākehā following the 1991 Waitangi Tribunal Claim (Dacker, 1994, p.1). The lack of recognition of Kāi Tahu presence at or management of Port Chalmers and Bluff may be caused by the colonial view that the changes that have occurred in indigenous lifeways overtime make the indigenous lifeways inauthentic because they should remain static, rather than dynamic (Raibmon, 2005).

Authors such as Dacker (1994) and Wanhalla (2009) have written histories with the aim to make the continuation of Kāi Tahu following colonial settlement visible. I aimed to build on this, assessing the visibility and presence of Kāi Tahu at the coastal enclaves of Port Chalmers and Bluff. I also aimed to inform planning practices through exploring the persistence of Kāi Tahu lifeways, environmental management and planning at the ports.

The study sought to explore the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff, the relationship of Kāi Tahu with local planning authorities and the way that Kāi Tahu are framed and recognised by the RMA at Port Chalmers and Bluff.

The following research questions were set out to achieve these aims:

1. To what extent have Kāi Tahu lifeways shaped Bluff and Port Chalmers since 1848?
2. How did local planning authorities respond to Kāi Tahu lifeways between 1848 and 1991?
3. How have Kāi Tahu values and practices been framed and recognised in these ports since the passage of the RMA in 1991?

Chapter 2 provided a context and rationale for the research, exploring the lack of recognition of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning by Pākehā histories despite their continuation. I established a theoretical framework for the research in chapter 3. The understanding of space developed in the spatial turn and through Massey's (2010, p.7) definition of places as 'articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings' were mobilised to question and recognise that a multiplicity of actors took part in shaping Port Chalmers and Bluff. The nature of ports as shared spaces due to their location at the nexus of the land and sea was established. A focus on material realities as the key site of colonial power led me to determine whether colonial authority was attained through the dispossession of Kāi Tahu material space (Harris, 2004, p. 180). Chapter 4 set out the adopted methodology. Archival research and interviews were used alongside port and planning documents and observations, in order to investigate the three research questions and reveal the role of Kāi Tahu in shaping Port Chalmers and Bluff.

8.1 Addressing Research Questions

Research question one aimed to establish the extent to which Kāi Tahu shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 1991. I discussed how the difficulties that Kāi Tahu faced in establishing Native Reserves, Native Hostels and continuing customary kaimoana practices illustrate that Kāi Tahu were only able to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff to a limited extent, despite their persistence at these coastal sites. However, I explained that it is evident that Kāi Tahu did remain at and shape Port Chalmers and Bluff to a greater extent if the dynamism of Kāi Tahu lifeways are recognised. I use the example of the adaption of maritime lifeways through OF and by Kāi Tahu at Port Chalmers and Bluff to illustrate the extent to which Kāi Tahu did shape the ports.

Research question two set out to determine the responses of local authorities to Kāi Tahu lifeways and attempts to shape Port Chalmers and Bluff between 1848 and 1991, in order to examine the ability of Kāi Tahu to participate in and shape Port Chalmers and Bluff through the planning system. I explained the continued dominance of Pākehā governance of Port Chalmers and Bluff. I discussed how the dominant Pākehā authorities often responded to Kāi Tahu with little more than 'good-hearted indifference' (Schrader, 2014, p.5). The examples used illustrate that Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning did persist but that local authorities provided little response to Kāi Tahu, in order to maintain dominance through control of material port spaces and the institutions that determined them.

Research question three focused on examining the current recognition of Kāi Tahu management and presence at Port Chalmers and Bluff. In particular, research question three aimed to determine whether the RMA and the planning mechanisms established by it represent a break from the colonial past and its binary logic. I explained how the RMA has increased the ability of Kāi Tahu to engage with resource management but how limitations to this engagement still exist due to planning processes. I also explained how Kāi Tahu struggle to express diverse environmental perspectives in RMA processes and how the basis of Kāi Tahu resource management on mahika kai is not largely recognised. This revealed the persistence of colonial binaries in the RMA and the need to critically consider how Māori values can be effectively and accurately incorporated into future planning and RMA processes.

8.2 Achievement of Research Objectives

Overall, I have illustrated how Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning have persisted at Port Chalmers and Bluff following sustained contact with Pākehā and the establishment of Pākehā settlement in the 1848 post-contact era. I have demonstrated that Port Chalmers and Bluff have remained shared but contested spaces. I have shown that Kāi Tahu persisted at the ports but in ways not always recognised by planning authorities as "Māori". Revelation of the persistence of Kāi Tahu through dynamic lifeways within the establishing colonial society and settlement assisted with achieving my research objective to assess the extent to which Kāi Tahu remained visible at and shaped Port Chalmers and Bluff and to build on previous histories to reveal the persistence of Kāi Tahu at the ports since 1848.

I argued that Kāi Tahu mahika kai based resource management and the diversity of Kāi Tahu environmental values still only gain limited recognition under the RMA and associated processes, as a result of the continuation of colonial binaries that view dynamic indigenous lifeways as inauthentic. The persistence of colonial binaries that prevents adequate and accurate recognition of Kāi Tahu lifeways leads to four key recommendations. The critical understanding of the incorporation of Māori in the RMA and the formulation of these recommendations assists with achieving my research objective to inform planning practice. The recommendations are outlined below.

8.3 Recommendations

Assess how Māori concerns can be adequately and accurately incorporated in the RMA

Assessing how the RMA can adequately and accurately reflect Māori concerns would help to provide Māori with sound opportunities to engage with resource management practices and assist with ensuring that Māori environmental perspectives were properly reflected. This would help to overcome colonial binaries that do not recognise the persistence of Māori or Kāi Tahu management, the centrality of mahika kai practices to Māori lifeways and the diversity of Māori environmental perspectives.

Recognise and provide opportunities for Kāi Tahu and Pākehā planning in partnership

The establishment and persistence of Kāi Tahu forms of planning and environmental management indicates that Kāi Tahu have a right and ability to manage resources that is equal to Pākehā. The revelation that Kāi Tahu have been marginalised at ports demonstrates that equal resource management opportunities have not been provided. Providing opportunities for Kāi Tahu and Pākehā to plan in partnership would ensure that each party has equal abilities to participate in planning.

Acknowledge the dynamic nature of Kāi Tahu and Māori lifeways and planning

Realising the dynamic nature of Kāi Tahu and Māori lifeways and planning ensures that colonial binaries that frame indigenous lifeways as static are not perpetuated. Overcoming these colonial binaries and recognising the dynamic nature of Kāi Tahu and Māori lifeways reveals the persistence of Kāi Tahu and Māori society and planning practices. Recognising that continued presence of Kāi Tahu and Māori could encourage planners to incorporate these more thoroughly and consistently in planning practices and processes.

Plan with the Past in Mind

The study has shown that it is important to consider the past in current planning practices. Reflecting on the past reveals power structures that impact on the ability of different actors to participate in planning processes. Understanding the constraints that power structures have placed on actors in planning processes will help to encourage planners to not perpetuate these and help to ensure that those who have been marginalised in the past are provided with equal opportunities to participate in current resource management.

8.4 Limitations and Future Research

A key limitation of this thesis is the examination of only Kāi Tahu experiences with port planning and management. Extension of the research to other iwi could provide for a more diverse comparison of historical experiences. Another key limitation is the broad historical period between 1848 and 2016, which was the focus of this study. Examination of a shorter historical period may enable key experiences and moments to be drawn out in more nuanced ways. The research was also conducted from a Western research paradigm. Use of emerging Māori research paradigms and methodologies may have enabled greater insights into Kāi Tahu perspectives to be gained and best ensured that the research aligned with Māori perspectives.

The number of previous historical studies of Māori planning experiences were limited, which also meant that the way that the research was conducted was very unique. This and the fusion of the three disciplines of history, social geography and planning created challenges for defining appropriate methodological approaches. A focus on either the historical or resource management aspect of the research may have enabled a more in-depth examination of either of these elements to be carried out and situated the research clearly. However, the cross-disciplinary nature of the research did provide original insights and demonstrate a novel way of assessing current resource management practices.

The study provides numerous avenues for further research. As suggested above, a key way that the research could be extended is through the comparison of a wider number of case studies of Māori experiences with port management from different iwi. A key way that more in-depth research could be carried out is through the examination of a narrower historical period and more nuanced studies of experiences within this time frame. The research could also be extended to past Māori experiences with the management of other coastal and marine areas, such as harbors or the ocean. This would help to expand understandings the important relationship of Māori with water. Further research could also examine the role of Māori in the historic planning of towns and cities and the influence that this has had on contemporary engagement in town and city planning under the RMA. This would help to further this study by building on the emerging studies that seek to reveal and acknowledge the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and planning.

8.5 Concluding Comments

The presence and continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways has gained greater recognition and been more strongly incorporated into resource management following the Kāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal claim in 1991 and the enactment of the RMA. However, colonial binaries that view dynamically evolved Kāi Tahu lifeways as inauthentic still limit the extent to which the continuation of Kāi Tahu lifeways and resource management are acknowledged, reducing recognition of the historic and current persistence of Kāi Tahu.

A need remains to overcome colonial binaries and ensure that Kāi Tahu are moved back away from the 'margins of society' to the 'centre stage of the play' at Port Chalmers and Bluff and more broadly in contemporary resource management processes (Dacker, 1991, p.1). Overcoming colonial binaries has the potential to enable Pākehā to realise the strength and diversity of Kāi Tahu environmental perspectives and planning and the centrality of mahika kai. This could increase the willingness of Pākehā to engage with Māori in resource management, creating opportunities for the kind of collaboration between Māori and Pākehā that scholars such as Dame Anne Salmond (Rutherford Lectures, 2014) believe can create a peaceful and prosperous land and sea, whose mana is respected.

Ka mua, ka muri- walk backwards into the future.

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Appendix A: Interview Topic Guides

Edward Ellison

Background

1. Can you describe your background and current roles in relation to Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and resource management?
2. Can you describe Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and your own historic and current connection to Dunedin and the Otago harbor?

Port Chalmers

3. Can you describe the historic and current connections that Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou have had with Port Chalmers post 1848?
4. Can you outline the history of Otākou Fisheries Ltd? How has its rise and decline affected the presence of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou at Port Chalmers?
5. Are you able to tell me about the Native Reserve at Port Chalmers? Was this followed up in the Waitangi Tribunal claim?
6. Are you able to tell me about the Princess Street Reserve and the proposed native hostel? How were these followed up in the Waitangi Tribunal claim?
7. Are there any especially key moments in which Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou have been visible at Port Chalmers? What do you think the significance of these are?
8. Could the Māori presence be made clearer at Port Chalmers? How?

Current Management

9. What involvement have you and Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou had with port resource management issues- especially the Aramoana Smelter campaign and dredging proposals?
10. How effective have you found responses to this involvement to be for realizing Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou resource management aspirations?
11. How effective do you find broader resource management processes for reflecting Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou resource management aspirations- especially the use of KTKO Ltd and the RMA?
12. Can you tell me about the recent marker in the exchange? What purpose do markers like this serve?

KTKO Ltd

1. Can you describe your background and current roles in relation to planning and KTKO Ltd?
2. Can you introduce the structure, functions and key focuses of KTKO?
3. What is the approach and involvement of KTKO with water and harbor resource management broadly?
4. How much time and emphasis is placed on water and coastal management compared to land management?

Port Chalmers Planning

5. What involvement has KTKO had with the planning of Otago harbor?
6. What involvement has KTKO had with the planning of Port Chalmers?
7. Could the Māori presence be made clearer at Port Chalmers? How?
8. How effective have you found involvement in port and harbor planning processes to be for realizing KTKO and Kāi Tahu resource management aspirations?
9. How could effectiveness of these processes be improved?

Current Resource Management Planning

10. How does KTKO decide its stance and approach to resource management issues?
11. How does KTKO ensure representation of diverse Kāi Tahu aspirations in its work and processes?
12. Do you find that RMA and local government processes enable reflection of Kāi Tahu resource management aspirations?

Tiny Metzger

Background

1. Can you describe your Kāi Tahu background as it relates to Bluff? What is the nature of your involvement with Te Rūnaka o Awarua? What involvement have you had in questions of resource management as they relate to Bluff – both onshore and at sea?
2. What roles does Te Rūnaka o Awarua play within the wider Bluff community?

Kāi Tahu and Bluff

3. Do you think that Kāi Tahu aggregated in Bluff from the 1880s because the Harbour Board and Bluff Borough Council was more responsive to Kāi Tahu values and aspirations than authorities in other places? If it was for other reasons what were they?
4. Why do you think Kāi Tahu centred on Bluff in a number and way that did not occur at Port Chalmers?
5. Did your working life in the Bluff marine environment ever conflict with Māori values and practices? Can you explain how, where and when?
6. Did the positive prospect of employment and the large port and industrial developments in the 1950s and 70s offset negative impacts these developments may have had on mahinga kai?
7. In what ways have Kāi Tahu families and groups maintained a visible presence at Bluff?
8. In what ways could this Kāi Tahu presence be made even more explicit?

Resource Management

9. Can you explain the use and the pollution of the kelp beds at Omaui? Why did these die and how did you feel? Why did they recover to some extent in recent years and how did you feel?
10. Can you explain your involvement with mutton-birding? Would you say that Bluff's rhythms work around mutton-birding or the other way round?
11. What other marine resources are central to Bluff-based Kāi Tahu and how are these managed? What values and practices are associated with them? Are they still passed on within families? How do regulatory bodies respond to them?
12. Do any of the practices relate to the visibility of Kāi Tahu, as Māori, in Bluff?

TAMI

Introduction

1. Can you describe your background and current roles in relation to planning and TAMI?
2. Can you introduce the structure, functions and key focuses of TAMI?
3. What is the approach and involvement of TAMI with water, coastal and marine management broadly?
4. How much time and emphasis is placed on water, coastal and marine management compared to land management? Do you think this reflect a bias towards land in Pākehā planning or a Maori inclination for the sea?

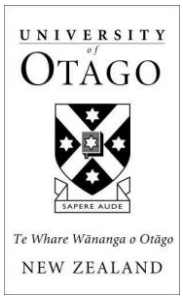
Harbour, Port and Bluff Planning

5. What involvement and aspirations does TAMI have for Bluff harbor planning?
6. In what ways and to what extent are these given effect to by regulatory authorities such as Environment Southland and major industrial companies such as South Port and NZAS?
7. What involvement have you had with Bluff planning?
8. How effective have you found the processes of this involvement for realizing resource management aspirations of TAMI?
9. Do you have suggestions of how effectiveness of these processes could be improved to better reflect and recognize the aspirations of southern Kāi Tahu and TAMI?
10. Could the Māori presence be made clearer in Bluff? Do you have suggestions of how?

Current Resource Management Planning

11. How does TAMI decide its stance and approach to resource management issues?
12. How does TAMI ensure representation of diverse Kāi Tahu aspirations in its work and processes?
13. Do you find that RMA, local government processes and the regions iwi management plan provide for the reflection of the diverse nature of contemporary southern Kāi Tahu individual and family resource management aspirations in planning?
14. Do you think that section 6(e) of the RMA promotes or prevents this?

Appendix B: Interview Information Sheet



Shared Spaces or Contested Places? Examining the role of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Port Chalmers and Bluff, 1848-2016.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The primary goal of this project is to assess the extent to which Kāi Tahu groups and lifeways have been visible in Awarua/Bluff and Koputai/Port Chalmers since 1848 with a particular focus on the relationships between Kāi Tahu bodies and planning authorities before and since the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991. The project will use a combination of archival research and interviews with a small number of participants with knowledge in these areas.

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for Nyssa Payne-Harker's Master of Planning. It is a subset of the Marsden-funded project 'Between Local and Global: A World History of Bluff' that is being undertaken by Dr. Michael Stevens, who is based in the Department of History and Art History.

What Types of Participants are being sought?

Participants have been recommended by co-supervisor Dr. Michael Stevens. Selection has been based on understanding of Kāi Tahu involvement with the historical and contemporary development of Bluff and Port Chalmers. Approximately four interviews will be conducted. The interview participants will be either Kāi Tahu or work for the Kāi Tahu resource management agencies Kāi Tahu ki Otago and Te Ao Marama Inc.

What will Participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to participate in this project, you will be asked to take part in an oral interview of approximately one hour, arranged for a time and location that is convenient to you.

The interview will be semi-structured in nature. The general line of questioning includes the ways and extent to which Bluff and Port Chalmers have been shaped by Kāi Tahu since 1848, the ways Kāi Tahu have interacted with planning authorities, the responses of these planning authorities and the way Kāi Tahu have been recognised at Bluff and Port Chalmers since the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the Department of Geography is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

The interview will be audio taped with your consent. You may decline to answer any question with no disadvantage to yourself. You may also withdraw any information without any disadvantage until the completion of analysis on August 31st.

Interviewees will be provided with the opportunity to read the transcript and provide comments on it, or any additional thoughts, prior to analysis and reporting. Electronic copies of the thesis and any resultant published work will be forwarded to interviewees and the two rūnaka and iwi planning agencies involved.

What Data or Information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

Data will be collected on the historical and contemporary role and experience of Kāi Tahu with the planning and development of Bluff and Port Chalmers. The data will be used to inform the Master's thesis. Nyssa Payne-Harker will have access to the data as the Masters student. Supervisors Dr. Michael Stevens, Dr. Sophie Bond and a transcriber will also have access to the data. The transcriber will sign a non-disclosure form to ensure confidentiality.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for **at least 5 years** in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants (contact details and audio tapes, after they have been transcribed) may be destroyed at the

completion of the research even though the data derived from the research will, in most cases, be kept for much longer or possibly indefinitely.

On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding your anonymity. If you choose to remain anonymous, we will make every effort to ensure this. However, please be aware that some people close to resource management issues in Bluff and Port Chalmers may identify you simply based on what you say. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer.

Can Participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself until August 31st, when analysis is complete.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Nyssa Payne-Harker and *Sophie Bond*
Department of Geography Department of Geography
University Telephone Number: 034798777 University Telephone Number: 034793068
Email Address: nyssaph1190@gmail.com Email Address: sophie.bond@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the Department stated above. However, if you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph. 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

Shared Spaces or Contested Places? Examining the role of Kāi Tahu Whānui in Port Chalmers and Bluff, 1848-2016
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information (contact details and audio-tapes) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes the ways and extent to which Bluff and Port Chalmers have been shaped by Kāi Tahu since 1848, the ways Kāi Tahu have interacted with planning authorities, the responses of these planning authorities and the way Kāi Tahu have been recognised at Bluff and Port Chalmers since the passage of the Resource Management Act in 1991. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity if requested.

I would like my anonymity to be preserved Yes No (please circle)

If Yes, I would like the following pseudonym to be used: _____

I would like to review my manuscript prior to analysis Yes No (please circle)

My email/postal address is: _____

I agree to take part in this project.

....
(Signature of participant) (Date)

.....
(Printed Name)

Appendix D: Questions for Museum and Port Observations

Museum Observations Guidance Questions

- Display of Maritime Objects- prominence, way of displaying, accurate reflection of realities?
- Display of Māori/Kāi Tahu Objects- prominence, way of displaying, accurate reflection of realities?
- Display of Māori/Kāi Tahu Maritime Objects- prominence, way of displaying, accurate reflection of realities?
- Maritime archives- prominence, message, and accessibility, how accurate?
- Māori/Kāi Tahu archives-prominence, message, accessibility, how accurate?
- Māori/Kāi Tahu Maritime Archives- prominence, message, accessibility, how accurate?
- Museum institutional recognition of maritime, Māori and Kāi Tahu- prominence, message, accessibility, how accurate?
- Incorporation of Māori/local Kāi Tahu into museum, Māori and maritime collection-community outreach, taonga databases, co-management, attributions, repatriations, collaboration eg steering committees, cultural centre?

Port Observations Guidance Questions

- Sign with Indication of Kāi Tahu/Māori connection-prominence, message, and visibility, how accurate?
- Incorporation of Kāi Tahu/Māori into establishment and management of site-how effective/how prominent and how?
- Recognition of cultural values of site-where/how- on or off site eg management plans
- Attempts to encourage respect of cultural values of site- where/how- on or off site eg management plans
- Effectiveness at increasing Kāi Tahu visibility- how and how accurately? Compared to other sites and physical presence eg people